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Premiers of Central Asian States Meet in Nukus

LD1001132194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1136 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] A working meeting of the prime ministers of five Central Asian countries started in the Uzbek town of Nukus Monday [10 January].

The presidents of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan are expected to hold a meeting there on January 11. This meeting will continue the work started in Kyzyl-Orda last March when the leaders of the five countries agreed on joint action to rescue the Aral Sea and help the coastal areas.

The coordination committee of the Central Asian countries has drafted numerous documents for this meeting, notably guidelines on the interstate council and its executive committee and a concept of ways to revive the Aral Sea.

Informed sources close to the Uzbek government told Interfax that the leaders of the Central Asian republics would discuss numerous economic problems in introduction of national currencies when they meet in Nukus. Cooperation in the ecological or any other sphere is impossible unless these problems are resolved, the sources believe.

Belarusians, Ukrainians Said Trading Illegally in Moscow

PM0701192194 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 94 First Edition p 5

[Report by Arkadiy Zheludkov and Aleksey Chelnokov: "Visitors to the Capital From Ukraine and Belarus Offer Good Bargains"]

[Text] Many of Moscow's streets and squares, especially those near stations, markets, and subways, have been taken over by citizens from Ukraine and Belarus. They trade in everything they can manage to carry out of their "coupon-economy" and "counter-economy" states. The Russian ruble, only recently dubbed "the wooden currency," has suddenly become an object of passionate desire for citizens of the former Union republics. For the sake of acquiring the ruble thousands of people are giving up their homes and families, going without sleep for days on end, and standing for days in the winter mud of Moscow's streets....

A Cozy Breeding Ground for Crime...

The Tashinka market has its own laws which effectively conform not at all to the generally accepted laws, and no one here is worried about concepts such as licensing, quality control, and health norms. Only Muscovites for whom prices at central stores are too dear now come to the dilapidated market; vendors are divided into two categories—dealers in old rags and nails and sellers of food.

The first category of trade "workers" are of interest to no one except scrap metal merchants. But the second, dubbed "the Belarusian trade mafia" in the neighboring homesteads, are of interest to everyone. To exact a tribute from a Belarusian who has arrived in Tashinka Square is as easy as picking up money off the street—only the lazy or very scrupulous do not do it.

The first to rush to the ranks of traders are representatives of the market administration—the janitors. In return for 2,000 rubles [R] they give the vendors something like a little table or market stall and an oral guarantee of freedom to trade within the perimeter of Tashinka Square. There are no visiting traders in the market itself—their potential customers hardly go there at all. But here they sell almost everything in which fraternal Belarus abounds: soap, brassieres, milk, cottage cheese, soda, cranberries, meat, cured fish, and even beer from the bottle—at R100 per glass. They can even pour you a drop of vodka.

Prices on Tashinka Square are indeed low: Boiled ham goes for R1,500-R2,000. Smoked meat sells for between R3,000 and R4,000. Smoked ham goes for around R4,000, and lightly smoked ham for R3,000 per kilogram. Cranberries and apples cost R1,200 and R1,300 respectively. Soda, which is not to be found in Moscow, costs R250 a packet. Children's soap sells for R75, whereas the state food store in the neighborhood sells only "Camay" at 10 times the price.

Despite fears, no incidents of food poisoning from goods from Belarus or the pharmaceutical preparations which sell abundantly here were recorded over the past year in Krasnopresnenskiy Rayon. True, the traders here bring product quality to mind only when the local health and epidemological monitoring service puts in an appearance, but that is not more than once a month. Hence to the question "Where does this meat or cheese come from?" the traders usually answer: "From Brest." But this is only for those who recall that half of Belarus' oblasts have been contaminated by Chernobyl. For those who can only afford to buy "poshekhonskiy" cheese [low-quality provincial cheese] here at R2,500 instead of "Suluguni"—R1,500 dearer in the state trade network—this is not a question of fundamental importance.

A different kind of quality control appear on Tashinka Square from 1000 hours—officers of the militia's 88th department. The guardians of order walk in twos and regularly check documents, something that is especially topical following the restrictions introduced by the capital's mayor on foreigners from the former republics entering and residing in the city. The militia officers have trained eyes, and both sergeants skirted past an old man dealing in cranberries; but they at once became interested in two women selling walnuts. The brassiere dealers did not escape their attention either. The militia officer aptly dubbed the contents of the bags "Chernobyl umbrellas." And for some reason he took R4,000. "That is their tax," the traders explained to me. "They don't issue receipts."

The third set of "controllers" of the square's bazaar were Azerbaijani kids who flocked from the market gates. "These kids take money on a fair basis: How much each man can afford," the old man with the cranberries says, whether in jest or in earnest. Probably a sense of justice has indeed developed among racketeers, because yet again nothing was taken from the old man. "I got nothing," as the old man himself said in Ukrainian. On the other hand the brassiere sellers once again had to cough up "5 grand" and unhappily started to gather up their wares.

Traders from Belarus frequently come in order to buy cheap audio and visual equipment in Russia with their hard-earned rubles. They stay with friends and relatives. They are convinced that "it is more profitable to work in Russia today than in Poland."

The second group of traders are those for whom it is more profitable to "work" in Poland, but more convenient to sell in Russia. In their native Belarus they earn less from brassieres, and the taxes there, it seems, are higher. And the third group—the largest—are people stopping off in Moscow on their way to visit relatives in the Russian heartlands, or in countries of the former republics. For them Moscow is the place to convert their native "counters" into a more stable currency. This kind of trader finds out about Tashinka Square accidentally, from friends, or even at Belorusskiy Station, where they spend the night for free and live for several days.

On the whole, the militia's 88th department told me, Tashinka Square is "a cosy breeding ground for crime."

Six Pay Packets for Four Trips

Every morning an avalanche of speculators with heavy bags descends from the trains arriving at Moscow's Kiev Railway Station. Having negotiated the barriers at the doors and turnstiles they rapidly disperse among the capital's flea markets. But the bulk of them stop in the immediate vicinity of the station—at the Dorogomilovskiy market.

Just as at Tashinka, the enterprising citizens from the coupon-economy state are not allowed underneath the arched vault of the market. Here citizens of Azerbaijan trading in tropical fruits have long since firmly established themselves. Hence, despite the rules on trade, for several hours a day Kievskaya Ulitsa is transformed into a huge flea market.

The Christmas vacation, we discovered, does not extend to the private sector. Thousands of street traders, mixing Russian and Ukrainian words, were vying with one another in extolling their wares. Squeezing my way through the crowd with difficulty and, so as to avoid trouble, clutching my bag closely, I looked over the range of goods available. It was inexhaustible: women's blouses embroidered with glass beads, large axes, peacock feathers, bodices, sausage meat, pickles, preserves, and so on and so forth. All this magnificence lay strewn not very esthetically on bushes beside the road or was piled high in dirty boxes. But still more amazing were the prices—two-thirds to one-half the Moscow average.

The customer in this flea market also has his own character. They are people who as a rule are poorly dressed; many are elderly. "Aren't you afraid of being poisoned?" we asked a woman for whom a guy in a greasy quilted jacket was fetching a "stick" of sausage meat from his rucksack. "What do you mean," she replies, "I have been buying from him for a long time. Excellent Ukrainian sausage meat, for which in a store you pay not R2,000, like here, but R4,000-6,000."

The sausage meat seller is from near Chernigovo. He works in a cooperative, but he makes up the bulk of his family budget, in his own words, through shuttle trips to Russia.

"For four trips to Moscow I get six monthly pay packets," he says. "The coupon is now 35-40 times more 'lightweight' than the ruble. One trip—40 kilograms of lightly smoked sausage meat. This is snatched up within three hours; I change the rubles for coupons, or else I buy goods here to sell at home."

"But surely the goods are confiscated by Ukrainian customs officials?"

"Of course not, pal—we give them all a little extra to keep them sweet! And if some crank takes the rucksack—it's no big loss: I return home for another consignment of sausage meat."

The mechanics of the flea market are elementary: The dealer, arriving in the capital at, say, 0800, has already gotten rid of his wares by midday. Two-three hours are spend on the purchase of consignments of imported cigarettes or chocolate from small wholesalers (on the square by the station the wholesale market is the cheapest in Moscow). And later on the same day the evening train carries the breadwinner back to his native peasant house.

"You force down prices on the Moscow markets"—we are talking to the same trader. "Haven't your competitors tried to punish you for this?"

"There has been no such incident in my time. The problem lies elsewhere: Often some boys 'call round' and demand money for the space. We pay them R4,000-5,000 a time. All the same we do not go away with empty pockets."

The customer and the trader at the local flea market, all the indications suggest, are entirely happy with one another. But at the 123d militia department they believe that the spontaneous congregation of thousands of people in this area creates a dangerous breeding ground for crime. Pickpockets, muggers, and small-time racketeers gather here like flies around honey. It is very difficult to combat them, because regulars to the market, preferring "not to get involved," refuse to complain to the militia.

"All we can do is curse under our breath," Oleg Sharov, deputy chief of the militia's 123d department, says. "Nevertheless, in the last six months we have caught 150 pickpockets and roughly the same number of muggers at the market. But, of course, this is just a drop in the ocean."

Sharov calls his detectives "the paperwork brigade": They barely have time to fill out their official reports. Some days the number of detainees reaches hundreds! Yet aside from the market, they have to watch over order on the square in the station precincts. Four criminal groups keep tabs on the commercial kiosks on this square, and they are repeatedly organizing bloody affrays between one another.

Sooner or later the patience of the militia or the health and epidemological station will snap. The Ukrainian traders will be arrested and fined, and then they will move to Tashinka Square—which is where we began this report....

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 10 Jan

LD1001085094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0813 GMT 10 Jan 94

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 10 ITAR-TASS—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA carries an article of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov who discusses some of the pressing issues of Russian political life. Touching on the defeat of the democratic forces in the parliamentary elections on December 12 Kostikov says, "one of the root causes of the failure of the democrats in the elections is that neither their parties nor their leaders have a taste or skills for conducting routine work for the sake of true values for the state and the people." The aim of the electoral campaign was not to promote ideas capable of normalising Russia but "winning a deputy mandate and reaping the interest on the success. The programme of none of the electoral coalitions contained even a hint at the ways in which national and not inner party or group problems will be tackled".

Explaining why the country needs a trial of the August 1991 coup plotters and of the totalitarian ideology as a whole Kostikov writes: "Millions of people who suffered enough from the omnipotence of the communist party of the Soviet Union will only believe that the suppressed rebellion (in October 1993) liberated us from the threat of communist restoration if the admirers of the red-and-brown sauce, sickles, hammers and swastikas have a firm and clear indication of their place in society".

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI lead with a report about the opening of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation on Tuesday. "This day will open a new political year. Because everything that happened between the elections and this day is no more than an anticipation, a presentiment and guesswork".

Explaining why the bulk of the voters cast their ballots in favour of the opposition electoral coalitions, the newspaper notes that most people "voted for those who was active. There is nothing can be done because we still believe in the strength of speeches, convincingly sounding pronouncements and propaganda push." Along with this, the newspaper writes, it would be erroneous to think that the considerable number of voters who favoured the communists, the agrarians close to the former and especially the liberal democrats personifies radical left or right wing public sentiments, although such sentiments undoubtedly exist.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI see as a good sign the fact that even the oppositional coalition leaders seek to convince the public that they "are going to the parliament not to make war but to work constructively". The confrontational political style, or at least its rhetoric, is no longer in fashion, the newspaper concludes. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) writes that there are more questions than answers on the eve of the opening of the Federal Assembly. The newspaper adds that only one parliament group—that of the deputies from the communist party of the Russian Federation—gathered in the parliamentary centre on January 9. The same newspaper comments on the presidential decree (dated December 22, 1993), which endorsed the regulation for the federal civil service. It says this system of state power has existed in Russia for centuries but was forgotten in recent years. Civil servants of all ranks are known to present-day Russians from historical tales and fiction.

Yeltsin Invites Kravchuk to Moscow To Meet Clinton

LD1001115794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1111 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow January 10 ITAR-TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has invited Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk to come to Moscow and take part in the working Russian-American-Ukrainian summit in the Kremlin, the Russian presidential press service announced today.

The invitation followed the achievement of an agreement in principle on some important questions of mutual interest, including nuclear arms.

The tripartite summit will be held in the Kremlin on January 14, the press service said.

Boris Yeltsin has reached an understanding with U.S. President Bill Clinton that the U.S. President will probably make a brief stopover at Borispol Airport (Kiev) en route to Moscow on January 12.

Kravchuk Reportedly Accepts

LD1001155294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] As INTERFAX learned from well-informed sources in Russia's Foreign Ministry, President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine accepted President Boris Yeltsin's invitation to come to Moscow and join the upcoming Russian-American summit.

It is already known that the U.S. President's visit to Russia and his talks with Boris Yeltsin are scheduled for January 12-15. The meeting between the three presidents is expected to take place in Moscow on January 14th.

As a senior official from Russia's Foreign Ministry told INTERFAX, Leonid Kravchuk's arrival in Moscow became possible thanks to the progress reached at trilateral Russian-American-Ukrainian consultations in Washington, where the problem of nuclear arms deployed on Ukrainian soil was under discussion.

"In the Russian capital, Kravchuk will evidently reaffirm all commitments concerning nuclear weapons made by Ukraine earlier," the Russian diplomat said. This involves the START-I treaty and the Lisbon Protocol to it, he explained.

As it is known, last November Ukraine's parliament ratified the treaty with numerous reservations. As for the Lisbon Protocol, it was ratified with the exception of Article 5, which guarantees Ukraine's joining the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a denuclearized state.

"The extremely negative reaction" displayed by the world community, above all by Russia and the U.S., was understood by Leonid Kravchuk, who announced his intention to submit the START-I treaty for ratification to Ukraine's new parliament, which is to be elected on March 27th, the diplomat said.

INTERFAX's source described the allegations that the U.S. President might make changes in the plans for his European tour in order to visit Kiev as "unfounded." "The meeting to be held by the three presidents in Moscow makes Bill Clinton's trip to Kiev pointless," he said.

According to him, the three presidents' meeting in Moscow will evidently result in some document, possibly a declaration, in which the stands taken by the three sides and Ukraine's commitments will be clearly stated.

As the diplomat said, one more declaration—on the outcome of the Russian-American summit—is expected to be adopted in Moscow. "This will be a general document reflecting the present state of bilateral relations," he said. "In addition, the head of Russian diplomacy, Andrey Kozyrev, and Secretary of State Warren Christopher will sign on behalf of their countries a number of 'routine' agreements, in particular on air transportation."

According to INTERFAX's source, the Russian-American talks, both bilateral and otherwise, will be held in the Kremlin. However, some meetings might take place at one of President Yeltsin's out-of-town residences, he conceded.

At the request of the American side, a meeting with the Russian public has been included in the already coordinated program for President Clinton's visit to Moscow, the diplomat noted. "On January 14, the American president will address Russian journalists and the public in one of Ostankino's television studios. Evidently, this event will be presented live," he said.

Kozyrev Views Prospects of NATO Expansion

AU0801202994 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 8 Jan 94 p 5

[Article by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev: "Partnership for United, Peaceful, and Democratic Europe"]

[Text] On 10 January, the government heads of the NATO states will try to find an answer to the new challenges in terms of security policy in Europe. Should the North Atlantic Alliance be extended to the East? How can the security interests of the Eastern Europeans and the Russians be taken into consideration equally? What roles should organizations such as the European Union, the Western European Union [WEU], the CSCE, and the NATO Cooperation Council [NACC] play in this connection? With the contribution of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU ends a series of discussions that includes articles by national and international politicians and scientists on this issue:

It has become a hackneyed phrase to say that Europe is living in a decisive period of its history. Still, particularly today, this statement is more true than ever before. Major events are taking place in both Western and Eastern Europe. With the European Union, which is preparing for the accession of new members, integration has reached a new stage. Russia has freed itself of the remnants of the Soviet political system and is now entering a stage of parliamentary democracy, which rests on a stable, solid constitutional basis. A big step toward economic integration has been made within the CIS by signing the agreement on economic community.

However, it is obvious that the efforts to create a democratic Europe as one united entity are falling behind tendencies toward a fragmentation of our continent and the emergence of new dangers and threats. Which of these developments will gain the upper hand depends to a great extent on the decisions that have to be made by the responsible European politicians at the NATO summit and the CSCE summit in Budapest this year. An ill-chosen peace structure for Europe can become a burden for all Europeans just like a bad design for a house and can itself become the reason for frictions and conflicts, similarly to what happened in the past through the Versailles Treaty. We must not repeat the mistakes of our forefathers.

By what objectives should the general security system, which has to be created by the Europeans, be guided? What criteria should it fulfill? What paths can be pursued for its implementation?

The Trap of Simple and Quick Solutions

There is no lack of simple solutions for Europe's security problems that appear superficially efficient. In short, one can say that they essentially consist of the extension of Western institutions, whose existence was justified in the Cold War era, to the countries of Eastern Europe and to Russia. Here the main attention goes to the quickest possible integration of the Central European countries into Western military-political structures.

These recommendations are based on two myths that are regarded by their advocates as axioms of current European policy. First, the thesis of a "security vacuum" in Central Europe, of a "gray area," which almost inevitably becomes the site for Russian-German rivalries or falls into the sphere of Russian expansion. Second, the thesis of "Russia's move toward a nationalist, imperialist policy" as a result of the recent parliamentary election.

The solution is produced by taking these two statements together: NATO should protect the countries of Central Europe against the inevitable thrust from the east. The "guard house on the Rhine" should thus be shifted to the banks of the Bug. This request is substantiated by references to the West's "moral obligation" toward the young democracies in the region and by reflections about the "natural geopolitical interests" of the Western nations themselves.

In my opinion, this approach replaces the ability to spot dangers, which is essential for any politician, with a strategy that does not only assume the "worst scenario" but even provokes it.

One can seriously speak of a "security vacuum" in Central and Eastern Europe only if one claims and predicts with equal seriousness the existence of hostile security-political blocks in Europe, in whatever form, and the continued existence of hostility between the East and the West. Put differently: To support the thesis of a "security vacuum" means to deny the essence of the all-European process, which is expressed in the Paris Charter: the unity of the democratic peoples of Europe. This would be the biggest declaration of bankruptcy of all of European politics, which, despite seemingly insurmountable difficulties, tore down the Berlin Wall, brought German unity, and led to the collapse of the totalitarian monsters of the 20th century. Instead of moving forward, one is making a panic step backwards by at least half a century.

The "security vacuum" is bound to restore rivalries between Moscow and Berlin in Central Europe. Yet, this would be a step backwards, dictated by fears and the ignorance of what has been achieved. Today there are two major democratic states in Europe—the Russian Federation and the FRG, two partners that cooperate politically and economically and are united through a bilateral treaty and through their participation in the CSCE process. To pave the way for a confrontation between these two states in any "gray area" would mean to challenge German-Russian partnership as the greatest feat of the current Europe and to undermine the foundation of European stability.

In the strategy of the "worst scenario," one can see the inertia both in the interpretation of the "threat from the East" and the appropriate counter-recipe. If the worst of all scenarios is predicted—the renewal of Russian imperialism—then one must not start from an attack of "Soviet tanks" against the East, but one must start from the repetition of the Yugoslav drama in the former Soviet Union. The consequence would be millions of refugees, disasters in the major industrial complexes, and the danger of a use of tactical nuclear arms. What could NATO do in such a situation for the protection of its eastern members? The cloud of the various Chernobyls would certainly be enough for all of Europe. The "guard house on the Bug" would not have the necessary power to help anyone at all.

Yet, it is exactly such an overhasty extension of NATO that might provoke this worst case scenarios. It would serve the extremists in Russia as a strong argument for a revival of the Russian empire and for resistance against the "attack from the West." Hence, the strategy of the "worst scenario" is particularly dangerous because it includes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The Russian Factor for European Security

Fears of a new "threat from the east" may be dispelled mainly through a strategy of partnership with democratic Russia, which has embarked on the path toward a law-governed state and the market economy. Those who speak of an "aggressive" Russian policy in Europe cannot produce a single shred of evidence, apart from statements by some Russian politicians who do not have any influence on the determination of the course of the government of this country. In real life, one can usually speak of an aggressive foreign policy only when a country declares the conquest of other countries as its objective, pursues an offensive military doctrine, and supports an ideology to this effect.

These criteria do not apply to the Russia of today. The Russian president's foreign policy has proven that we want to achieve our country's interests as a nation state through partnership and not through confrontation with the world around us. This objective is supported by our democratic constitution. Russia does not have any territorial claims against any country in the world, including countries in Central and Eastern Europe. According to Russia's new military doctrine, our armed forces serve the sole purpose of defending our country and our allies and of peacemaking efforts in line with Russia's international obligations. As a military power, Russia is limited to the quantity necessary for defense, as established by the treaty on conventional disarmament in Europe and the START I and START II Treaties. All military activities are predictable and have been laid bare within the framework of the applicable agreements on confidence-building measures. Speaking of a "Russian threat" under these circumstances means to deliberately twist facts.

The success of right-wing nationalist forces in the recently held parliamentary election is not a symptom for a pathological decay of Russian society but a vaccine for a healthy organism, which, of course, leads to an increased temperature. There cannot be a deep fertile ground for really pro-fascist conditions in Russia, which did more for the defeat of fascism in World War II than any other country in the world. The people did not caste their votes for a "campaign against the West" or for an "advance toward the warm seas," and neither for the renewal of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp by force. They voted against the ambitions and the self-complacency of some reformers, against their inability to explain the people the objectives of the reform in a simple language that people can understand, and against lacking social protection of the population, and an insufficient struggle against crime. Comparisons with the Germany of 1933, which are now popular, are only acceptable to mobilize forces for the defense of Russian democracy, but not to establish the allegedly inevitable fate, its defeat.

The Russian democrats have started to draw the necessary conclusions from the sobering lesson of the parliamentary election. The reform program will clearly be revised in favor of strengthening social measures. We are determined to fight against crime without any mercy. Yet there is no and there will not be any flirting with right-wing extremism. We reject any overt or covert form of extremism, aggressive nationalism, and fascism.

The West must also draw its conclusions from the election success of Zhirninovkiy's Liberal Democratic Party. Our partners must revise their tone and accents in the dialogue with Russia. Constant preaching and criticism are inappropriate for talks with Moscow. Partnership is hardly reconcilable with proposals that we should either accept or reject as a whole without being granted the right to revise them with a view to our own interests. Such attempts are sometimes being made when it comes to evaluating the Yugoslavia conflict or the situation in Libya and Iraq.

It is precisely now that Russia must have a stronger feeling of support from abroad for its reform policy. What is essential is a clear, well-developed strategy for cooperation between Russia and its democratic partners in the West. At the moment, in many respects, we remain at the level of a generally correct "idea of partnership" (Russia and the West are partners because they belong to the democratic community of states), but our actions are based on decisions of the moment. When Russia made its entrance on the international stage as an independent state, this approach was the only one possible. However, this stage is now over. We need new strategic formulas and mechanisms for their implementation that fully correspond to the present quality of our relations. What is most important is that the cooperation that Russia was promised in Tokyo must be put into practice without reservations. Europe does not need a strategy in which Russia's return to imperialism forms, as it were, a "built-in" component, but a system-shaping strategy that promotes the unity of all the democratic states in Europe.

Partnership for a United Europe

At the end of the 1940's, Western politicians were able to find a genuine strategic answer to the great problems of their times—the rebuilding of Western Europe and the resistance against Stalin's expansionist policies. Adequate mechanisms were set up in good time, including the foundation of the European Community and NATO. Here we are talking not about dismantling well-proven mechanisms, but about adjusting them to the new realities and drawing them into a truly all-European system of security and cooperation.

In creating a new architecture for Europe, one has to pay urgent attention to a number of criteria, including the following:

—A balanced, gradual approach to the creation of the European security system. Here, "shock diplomacy" methods and policies of accomplished facts are excluded. The Russian side supports thorough consultations between all interested parties. We are conducting such a dialogue in the runup to the NATO

summit with partners in the North Atlantic Alliance, in Central Europe, and with neutral states.

—Openness of regional organizations and institutions as a surety for a successful adjustment to the new European realities. Russia has no right to stipulate who and who may not join NATO. However, we do have the right to proceed on the assumption that the North Atlantic Alliance will take into account the special features of an unavoidably long transition period and—if one looks even further into the future—will emphasize the point, enshrined in NATO's articles, that states that NATO remains open for any democratic European or Atlantic state to become a member. It should not be excluded from the outset that Russia will apply for NATO membership at some time in the future. It is important to ensure an effective and equal partnership in a period a general change and adaptation to one another.

—The guarantee of an equal level of security for all European states. In Europe, "first and second-class security," "gray areas," and "special spheres of influence" are just as unacceptable as "isolated regions" and a "cordon sanitaire."

—The treaty-based foundation of European security, as it has emerged, must be preserved. This also concerns the treaty for final settlement in relation to Germany.

—Exclusion of territorial claims between European states. Are the intentions of certain Baltic states to join NATO compatible with territorial demands against their neighbors?

The chief goals of our proposed strategy for partnership at the political level and in the field of security should be the following:

First, development of Euro-Atlantic cooperation. The transformation of the CSCE into a political organization for the entire region and of the NACC into an autonomous organization for military-political cooperation but one closely linked to the CSCE. Their aim must be to coordinate the efforts of NATO, the WEU, and the CIS in strengthening international security, acting to strengthen peace, and providing genuine protection for the rights of national, linguistic, and other minorities in Europe. I regard the declaration adopted at the CSCE conference in Rome on combating aggressive nationalism as a significant step in this direction.

As far as the NACC is concerned, one should not regard it as an anteroom for NATO according to the "NATO plus" formula, but as envisaged when it was originally set up, as a independent instrument of equal partnership between one-time enemies for the building of a new Europe. Proposals for expanding NACC to include neutral European states and to form a compact secretariat for the Cooperation Council are of considerable interest. The NACC itself must direct its work toward developing cooperation in the security field, in military planning, arms conversion, and maintaining peace.

Second, the creation of a system of overlapping security guarantees between the states of Western and Eastern Europe. The closer the states are intertwined with one another, the stronger the network of their relations will be. For this reason, should one not consider, for example, creating a security network of mutually complementary treaties in the security field between Germany and Poland and Poland and Germany? Corresponding treaties could also be proposed for other states in the region.

Third, I welcome the proposals made by my German colleague Klaus Kinkel concerning concluding an agreement for cooperation and consultations between NATO, on one side, and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and Ukraine, on the other. It would be useful to set up a communications channel between NATO and the CIS.

Fourth, increasing the ability of the European states to ensure peace. For the time being, frankly speaking, the East and the West have as yet found no joint [solidarische] answer to the challenge posed by the local conflicts in Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union. In the meantime, these conflicts are developing into a big European security problem. Our partners should effectively support the efforts of Russia, which is carrying the main burden of ensuring peace in the post-Soviet area. The establishment of a voluntary fund for supporting the efforts to guarantee peace in the CIS is now on the agenda of the day. NACC can provide practical support (such as financial aid in training personnel for peacekeeping operations).

Fifth, nonproliferation of nuclear weapons in Europe. It is a mistake to regard the strategic missiles dispute between Russia and Ukraine as one aspect of the division of the Soviet legacy. This is a matter of preventing a contravention of the nuclear weapon nonproliferation regulations and affects the interests of the whole of Europe. Our partners in NATO supported the Russian position at NACC's meeting in Brussels when they rejected Kiev's attempts to represent the decisions of the Supreme Soviet as a ratification of the START I Treaty. The strategy of the European partnership must provide a strong incentive for strict observance of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

The economic elements of the partnership deserve special mention. Their essence lies in the transition from isolated, chronically delayed support programs to including Russia in the international division of labor on an equal, nondiscriminatory basis and in providing Russia with access to European markets.

In many respects, the fields for action that I have mentioned have connections with the proposals that my colleagues from many European countries have put forward in recent months. The dialogue concerning a security partnership for Europe is already gaining intensity. I hope that the NATO summit will further this development in a useful way through its balanced and

farsighted decisions. Russia is a responsible and committed partner for the members of the North Atlantic Alliance in the development of such a strategy.

Romanian Defense Minister Cited on NATO Cooperation

LD1001153094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1445 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Morozov]

[Text] Bucharest January 10 TASS—Russia was not conquered as a result of the disappearance of a bipolar geo-political system. As before it remains a powerful state, a great power which is only passing through a difficult stage, apparently, just as other East European countries, Romania's Defence Minister Lieutenant-General Niculae Spiroiu emphasised in an interview with ITAR-TASS. According to him, it concerns the selection of a new social, political and economic system by the people of Russia, and it does not at all mean that Russia has lost some kind of battle.

As far as ensuring security is concerned, after the disintegration of the Warsaw Treaty Organization its member states were left in a vacuum. That why it was natural for them to strive to improve their state of affairs. A kind of competition started to join NATO, the minister said. I presume that at the NATO summit in Brussels a decision will be adopted within the American initiative network of "partnership in the name of peace" and provide these states certain support in the sphere of security, Spiroiu noted. This initiative will be a step ahead, according to him.

Russia's apprehensions in connection with the widening of NATO are very well understood by us, the head of the Romanian defence department indicated. That is the reason why we consider that Russia should participate in programmes of cooperation with NATO. If Russia is not included in the new structures of security, then they will not get the needed trust in them and will not become sufficiently effective. The Russian Federation cannot be excluded from this process. There is a need to create a system of equal security for all in which Russia will acquire its place and role corresponding to its importance. Any kind of discrimination would only lead to suspicion, tension and potential hot spots of instability, the Romanian defence minister said.

Aims of Clinton's European Tour Outlined

LD0901135094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1320 GMT 9 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Loshchilin]

[Text] Washington January 9 TASS—President Clinton left for Europe late on Saturday [8 January] for an eight-day mission. He is to attend a NATO summit, then fly on to Prague, Moscow, Minsk, and to Geneva for a January 16 meeting with Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad before flying home.

According to top officials of the U.S. Administration, the President's European tour pursues three goals. The first goal is to bring the U.S. "partnership for peace" concept up for U.S. NATO allies' endorsement. The concept envisions the establishment of the bloc's closer military cooperation with the former socialist countries of Europe.

The second goal is to show U.S. support for democratic processes in former communist states, and the third one is to reduce the spread of nuclear weapons and work for a greater Europe that is more economically vibrant.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Views Trip

PM1001102194 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 3

[Manki Ponomarev report: "U.S. President Leaves for Europe"]

[Text] U.S. President Bill Clinton left Washington late Saturday evening for a 10-day tour of European countries. He intends to visit the Belgian capital, where a meeting of NATO heads of state and government will be held 10-11 January. A meeting will then take place in Prague with the leaders of the Czech and Slovak Republics, Poland, and Hungary. The president will pay a state visit to Russia 12-15 January, after which he goes to Belarus. The U.S. Administration head's tour will end in Geneva, where he will hold talks with the president of Syria.

Setting out the aims of his trip to journalists, Bill Clinton stressed: "I hope that we will be able to work out a policy in relation to Europe which will not lead to the formation of new 'lines' dividing up the continent but will further its political, economic, and strategic integration."

Three basic tasks face the White House head during his trip, according to top figures in the Washington administration. The first is to submit for ratification by America's North Atlantic alliance partners the U.S. Partnership for Peace concept, which envisages the establishment of close cooperation in the defense sphere between the bloc and the former socialist states of Europe. The second is to demonstrate support for the democratic processes in those states. The third is to to help reduce the threat from weapons of mass destruction. In this regard Vice President Al Gore stated firmly in a radio broadcast to the American people devoted to the trip now under way: "One nuclear power alone should be the successor to the USSR."

Discussion of the Partnership for Peace concept will indeed be one of the the main topics of the Brussels meeting. However, according to Clinton himself, it is not possible to admit the East European countries to NATO as full members because this would exclude Russia from

the new security alliance and cause alarm in Ukraine and other new independent states. The president added here that the West is proposing that Russia also take part in implementing the Partnership for Peace concept and that Russia will thus obtain the opportunity to demonstrate its desire for a new future.

As far as the state visit to Moscow is concerned, Bill Clinton described it as his main task to show support for democratic and market reforms in Russia as well as to show support for the creation of social mechanisms to reduce the impact of the economic "shock" on people. In Moscow, according to Strobe Talbott, special envoy and special adviser [sovetnik] to the U.S. secretary of state on the new independent states, the U.S. President will also declare that "Russia should have its own powerful voice" in determining how the "post-Cold War situation in the security sphere in Europe and Eurasia" will look. The adviser to the secretary of state also noted that, in Washington's opinion, "all states formed since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact will have the right to join the North Atlantic alliance in the future."

So the U.S. President's European trip is now under way. One can only express the hope that it will bring beneficial results not just to the United States but to the other states and peoples too.

U.S. Senators Comment on Talks on ABM Treaty

LD0801102094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0921 GMT 8 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Varlamov]

[Text] Tokyo January 8 TASS—The U.S. Administration is holding talks with the Russian Government with the aim to specify the content of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM), concluded by the USSR and the United States in 1972, prominent U.S. politicians Senators Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar said today, responding to an ITAR-TASS question during a press conference in Tokyo.

Sam Nunn, who is head of the Committee on Armed Services in the U.S. Congress, explained that the point at issue is not the revision of the fundamentals of that unlimited document aimed at continually reminding people of the nuclear threat, but the clearing up and fixing of basic differences between the ABM system within the framework of an individual theatre of operations, which is not banned by the ABM treaty, and a strategic nuclear ABM system, which is the main subject of that document. The NIHON KEIZAI newspaper reported today that the settlement of the issues dealing with the ABM treaty may be speeded up by the Russian-American summit in Moscow, scheduled for next week.

Touching upon the nuclear problems facing former USSR republics, the U.S. senators, who visited Russia recently, said that the ensurance of long-term storage, safe elimination and prevention of smuggling abroad of the splitter materials, released as a result of the dismantling of combat missiles and nuclear-powered submarines, are the most important of them.

According to Lugar, the problem for Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan is how to divide in a just way the responsibility for the storage and processing of highly enriched uranium. He stressed that in principle the U.S. is ready to purchase from the former USSR republics part of that uranium and process it so that it can be used for peaceful purposes.

The problem of Ukraine, which is not living up to its commitment to become a nuclear-free country, should be resolved as soon as possible. According to Nunn, Kiev should join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and ratify the START agreements without setting the terms, which make the ratification senseless.

The senators stressed that, along with problems created by the nuclear disarmament, there are others, which are potentially no less dangerous and which are connected with nuclear power plants on the territory of the former USSR. Of course, it is economically expedient that the International Monetary Fund and other international financial institutions are prompting Russia and other republics to fully liberalise prices of energy carriers, reducing the way to the world market, Sam Nunn pointed out. However, one cannot rule out a possibility that in case of such a transition some countries, like Ukraine for example, will have to put to full use all the nuclear power plants they have in order to obtain sources of cheap energy, which will increase the probability of serious accidents.

Defense Official Views U.S. Military Cooperation

LD1001144994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1423 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—Russian-American relations in the defence and security sphere have been marked by high intensity and big scope in the last few years, Dmitriy Kharchenko, head of the Russian Defence Ministry International Department, said.

In an interview with ITAR-TASS on Monday [10 January], Kharchenko said that in 1994 Russia and the United States plan to carry out 26 joint projects, compared to 17 in 1993.

He said the documents on mutual understanding and military cooperation signed by Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev during his official visit to the U.S. last year open up new prospects for partnership between the two countries. The documents have also sealed both sides' intention to leave the years of nuclear confrontation between the two superpowers in the past for good.

Grachev and his American counterpart agreed to meet annually, exchange delegations at all levels and train the

Russian military in the U.S. The delegations of the two ministries will discuss a wide range of issues, including national security and employment of the former army personnel in civilian sectors of the economy. The two countries will also provide each other with information

The agreements provide for exchanges of ships and aircraft, joint manoeuvres and war games, Kharchenko said.

In April 1993 the armies of the two countries conducted the first joint manoeuvres to rescue the crews of aircraft and helicopters in the Polar region. In June the U.S. and NATO navy forces held war games in the Baltic Sea which were also attended by warships of all Baltic Sea states, including the Russian mine- laying destroyer Nastoychiviy.

Russia and the U.S. will conduct joint manoeuvres of their peace-keeping forces in the Volga region this coming summer, Kharchenko said.

U.S. Ties Moving Toward Technological Partnership

LD1001104194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1020 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow January 10 ITAR-TASS—A new trend is emerging in relations between Russia and the United States: Transition has become from technological confrontation to technological partnership, according to Viktor Glukhikh, chairman of the State Committee for Defence Industries of the Russian Federation.

According to Glukhikh, one hundred joint projects in the field of basic and applied research, development, production and marketing are already being implemented. Recently a memorandum of mutual understanding was signed with the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration which promises to become one of the major joint projects. It sets the parameters for joint basic research in aeronautics which will be implemented with the help of the potential, technical capacities and intellectual resources of both Russia and the United States.

We developed and produced arms separately but are now looking for sensible and ecologically clean methods of eliminating them, Glukhikh stressed.

Moreover, we have thrown open the doors of "closed" factories and research institutes to demonstrate our readiness to cooperate in the technological fields in which Russia's priority is beyond doubt. It is not accidental therefore that recognised American industrial leaders such as the Boeing, Pratt and Whitney, Hughes and Rockwell international corporations are among our present partners.

We have already passed over to the American side packages of proposals relating to conversion and involving enterprises in practically all defence industries. We would like to hope that the upcoming visit of President Bill Clinton to Russia will further boost Russian-American contacts in the field of research and industrial cooperation, Viktor Glukhikh said.

Strobe Talbott's New Appointment Assessed

PM1001150194 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 7

[Pavel Shinkarenko report under the "Talk of the World" rubric: "Warren Christopher's Alter Ego"]

[Excerpts] On New Year's Eve the U.S. President nominated Strobe Talbott for the post of U.S. deputy secretary of state. Thus on the eve of the first official visit to Moscow by the U.S. President, the list of "portfolios" which Talbott has already held for eight months—special envoy and special adviser to the secretary of state on new independent states—has been supplemented by a new portfolio: He has become Christopher's "alter ego."

The State Department chief commented as follows on the new appointment of his envoy: "He is the most suitable man for the job. I am convinced of Talbott's capabilities, his knowledge of international relations, and his human qualities. I can certainly say that Strobe will make a unique and long-term contribution to the formulation and implementation of U.S. foreign policy...." [passage omitted]

"I have known and respected S. Talbott for over 25 years and have always regarded him as a man of enormous potential, intellect, and insight," Bill Clinton stressed in turn. "Strobe is coping admirably with his present duties as special envoy to the former Soviet republics. I am absolutely convinced that he will be just as successful in his new post at the State Department."

This new appointment of Strobe Talbott's is viewed by analysts on THE WASHINGTON POST as one aspect of Secretary of State Warren Christopher's wider efforts to put right at least two weaknesses for which he has been criticized. The first is the not particularly inspiring manner of his public statements, and the second is his inability to anticipate potential crises before they occur. Christopher's entourage also believes that Talbott will continue to carry out his principal task—dealing with relations with Russia and the other republics of the former USSR. However, he is now allowed to make public comments on foreign policy problems.

The State Department's number two has already availed himself of this opportunity. Speaking at the National Press Club in Washington, he stated that "Russia is on course for reforms, and the international community should do everything in its power to encourage movement in this direction." At the same time S. Talbott stressed: "When we say that we support the reforms course in Russia, we mean the following. First, we support political leaders who are committed to the principles of democracy and reserve for the people the final say on who should rule the country and what the country's policy should be. This is why we so doggedly

support Boris Yeltsin, because over the last two years he has on several occasions resolved complex situations to the satisfaction of the Russian people. Second, we support economic reforms. And third, we support a reform of foreign policy direction, which is a major component of our policy."

Within the next few days we will see how this aim will be put into practice when the U.S. President comes to Moscow.

Budapest TV Interviews Zhirinovskiy

LD0801211494 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 2025 GMT 7 Jan 94

["Exclusive interview" with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, by unidentified correspondent in Moscow; date not given; from the "Panorama" program—recorded; Zhirinovskiy speaks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] The office of the misleadingly named the Liberal Democratic Party is situated on the third floor of a residential block of apartments on a back street.

Hungarian leaders will very soon meet President Clinton. Hungary would very much like to join NATO, or at least in the Clinton initiative, the Partnership for Peace.

[Zhirinovskiy] This is Hungary's private affair; however, I would not recommend that any single country of the globe join military blocs hastily. It would not lead to any good. It is better to remain a neutral country.

Regarding NATO membership, even if Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia were to be admitted as members, they would be admitted as tiles on the roof and not as the columns of the structure.

[Correspondent] The issue here is security, however, and many say that it is specifically you, Zhirinovskiy, who is threatening the security of the neighbors of the former Soviet Union. What do you say to that?

[Zhirinovskiy] I deny it. We do not threaten anybody, especially not in the West—God forbid.

[Correspondent] President Yeltsin bowed his head in front of the grave of Imre Nagy. If you were the president of Russia, would you repeat this gesture?

[Zhirinovskiy] I do not bow anywhere. I will look, first of all, at the way in which the tombs of Soviet and Russian soldiers are treated. If, as in [illegible], they are covered with graffiti, if paint has dirtied the memorial, I will not bow my head in front of anybody in a country like that. On the contrary, I would leave that country as soon as possible.

[Correspondent] Above your head here is a map of Alaska.

[Zhirinovskiy] No, that is a historical map. That is what Russia was like 120 years ago. We do not want to restore these borders. That was when the Russian empire was flourishing. Why should we not be proud of the finest chapters of our history?

[Correspondent] So this is not a plan for the future?

[Zhirinovskiy] There is no question of that. It is only history—just as the 12 December victory was, for me, the finest day of my life, and 12 June will be the same. This does not mean that I am expunging the rest of my entire life, but they are the two most important and happiest days of my life.

It is history—merely history. Heaven forbid that this is the case again. This type of thing is not (?our aim).

[Correspondent] You said not long ago, however, that you wished to send 300,000 soldiers to Germany and that Germany would be a poor country because it would be compelled to pay you reparations. If you are able to threaten Germany, which is some distance away, then Hungary, which is smaller and nearer, has more grounds to be afraid. Is that not the case?

[Zhirinovskiy] That is an erroneous interpretation. What was the issue at hand? Germany is paying Israel considerable reparations for almost every single Jew who was killed. Why have the Russians, who lost the greatest number of people in the last war and who defeated German fascism, received the smallest reparations? That is why I say: If the relationship between Russia and Germany deteriorates, a review of compensation issues is not ruled out.

If I understand correctly, Kohl would have been ready to pay Gorbachev 100 billion marks for East Germany. However, Gorbachev was satisfied with 10 billion.

[Correspondent] From where do you get these figures?

[Zhirinovskiy] From the press. Gorbachev agreed on 14 billion.

[Correspondent] Marks?

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, but they would have given more, so we do not know why Gorbachev requested less for East Germany. What is at issue here is not a military threat. What is at issue is that there should not be dual standards, that there should be a uniform standard in politics concerning reparations, security, national issues, and the economy—only in this sense.

This is all I was thinking about when I spoke about these issues—not at all about the use of force or armed forces. Our soldiers will never take a step in the direction of the West. Never. They have nothing to seek in the West.

[Correspondent] You spoke differently to the newspaper WELT AM SONNTAG the other day, however.

[Zhirinovskiy] I said that we had 300,000 soldiers there, and a suspension of the troop withdrawal was not ruled out if our relationship deteriorated, because it is in Germany's interest for all of the foreign armies—including U.S., French, British, and Dutch troops—to pull out at the same time. Why should only the Russians pull out quickly? Our soldiers and officers must spend the nights in tents in the taiga, on the steppes. Why? Why the haste?

This was arranged by Shevardnadze, and where is Shevardnadze now? What did he do with his own country? He ruined his own country.

[Correspondent] So WELT AM SONNTAG distorted your words?

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, it distorted them. I was suggesting that a deterioration of the Russian-German relationship is not in Germany's interest, that occupying troops are still stationed in Germany, and we want all of the occupying armies to leave Germany. We will make every effort for the Russian troops to withdraw—but not too hastily because this would give rise to tensions in Russia. This is also contrary to Germany's interests.

[Correspondent] Since you have a little time, I would like to ask you a few more questions.

[Zhirinovskiy] Please, go ahead.

[Correspondent] Where should the Russian borders be in the future? Along the former Soviet borders?

[Zhirinovskiy] We will not object if the currently independent areas—the former Soviet republics—ask to be allowed back to the fold. We will examine the question of readmitting them, and then the borders of the former Soviet Union will gradually become the borders of Russia.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion of what Solzhenitsyn said—that the Slav republics, Ukraine, Belarus can come back, but it is better if the Muslim and southern republics go separate ways because they would be only a burden for the Russians?

[Zhirinovskiy] This reflects nationalistic, psychological, and historical viewpoints. If we consider economic viewpoints and military strategy, however, then there are certain small, specific issues. This, specifically, is what I wrote about in my book *The Last Push South.*

[Correspondent] It would be interesting to read.

[Zhirinovskiy] I would be pleased if it was translated into Hungarian. It is now being translated in several countries. It describes everything in detail—my entire geopolitical concept, the nationality issue.

[Correspondent] You recently said that there would be many small wars, which have begun to an extent—between Abkhazians and Georgians, Armenians and Azerbaijanis—and that these peoples would be so weakened that they would fall on their knees to plead for their readmittance into the former Soviet Union.

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, that is exactly right.

[Unidentified announcer] The book's title is *The Last Push South.* It is Zhirinovskiy's *Mein Kampf.* In it, he says that the Russian Army will occupy Afghanistan, Turkey, and Iran, and that Russia will be the master from Istanbul to Kabul. Of course, just like in every mendacious work of this type, it says that this fight will be the last one. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] You also proposed that Macedonia be handed over to Bulgaria. What is your opinion of the current southern Slav conflict?

[Zhirinovskiy] The best thing would for all of the foreign armies—including the UN troops—to be withdrawn from Yugoslavia, and for the Yugoslavs themselves—the Serbians and Croatians—to decide their own fate.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion of Yeltsin?

[Zhirinovskiy] What should it be? He has been the president of our country for two-and-a-half years already. He will retire in two more years, and he will remain in our memory as Russia's first president.

[Correspondent] All right, but what kind of economic policy is necessary?

[Zhirinovskiy] Another kind, completely different. He is being let down by his team. The Gaydar-Fedorov-Shokhin team must go.

[Correspondent] What, specifically, should he do?

[Zhirinovskiy] He should change the formula of the economic reform.

[Correspondent] But in what direction?

[Zhirinovskiy] For example, support for certain regions of the former Soviet Union must be halted. The peaceful conversion of the military industry must be halted. The state sector must not be ruined. The private sector must not be stifled. Crime must be dealt a blow. The situation must be stabilized. There must be an end to the division within Russia along national lines, so that there are only counties. Such reforms would quickly improve our lives.

[Correspondent] So the current national autonomous regions should cease to exist?

[Zhirinovskiy] Full rights for every citizen—irrespective of nationality. If there is autonomy, it means war—the path leading to war. Well, there are some hotbeds of war in the ruins of the former Soviet Union [word indistinct].

[Correspondent] What is your opinion of Saddam Husayn?

[Zhirinovskiy] We have never had any special relationship with him. What happened historically was simply

that the Soviet Union invested enormous sums in Iraq. Therefore, Iraq now owes us more than $10 billion, and it is ready to pay this. That is why it is not in our interest to take part in the embargo against Iraq—just like in the case of the embargo against Serbia and the embargo against Libya.

[Correspondent] So you want to change policy?

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, in that we do not participate in embargoes against countries that intend to pay us their debts.

[Correspondent] And the pressure exerted on Kim Il-song these days? What do you think of it?

[Zhirinovskiy] There is no problem with that. North Korea owes us very little. Perhaps it is not a debtor of ours. We also oppose the spread of nuclear weapons. There would be a possibility for joint action on this.

[Correspondent] Not long ago you mentioned a terrifying nonnuclear weapon in the possession of Russia—the elipton. What type of weapon is this?

[Zhirinovskiy] This question is for experts. This weapon is stronger than nuclear weapons because its consequences are different, and there is no antidote. This is where its strength lies. There is no way of defending against it. It is the same with the sonic weapon [hangfegyver]. We also have this. What happens is that the cartridge detonates, and the sound is such that it brings down an entire military division. That is it; they are dead.

[Correspondent] How does the elipton work?

[Zhirinovskiy] The elipton has the same effect. There is no radiation, no fire. There are no wounds. An entire military division simply dies. It is similar to the neutron weapon, but the latter has radiation. It has a damaging effect. The neutrons enter the human body; those cause the destruction. With the former, there is no damage, but all of life is immediately destroyed.

[Correspondent] Do the Americans not have this type of weapon?

[Zhirinovskiy] No.

[Correspondent] No one has it?

[Zhirinovskiy] No one. Russian scientists developed it exclusively.

[Correspondent] But no one has yet heard about this weapon.

[Zhirinovskiy] Because it is secret.

[Correspondent] You know, when one speaks with you—and I am thinking of your recent statements abroad—we simply are unable to ascertain how many types of Zhirinovskiy there are. Because there is a Zhirinovskiy who speaks sensibly, and at the same time there is a Zhirinovskiy who proposes to the Bulgarians that they need a new president, who offends entire countries. We are unable to get our bearings with regard to you.

[Zhirinovskiy] Things must be clarified in a direct manner. You have come here, and we are now having a chat. I will explain everything if I am invited to Hungary. I will explain that no one should fear anything. Never did I want to dismiss Bulgaria's president. The whole thing was built up by the journalists and by President Zhelyu Zhelev's office. He took fright and really thought that I came for that reason.

[Correspondent] And your friend? Did you not recommend your friend, Svetoslav [Stoilov] as president?

[Zhirinovskiy] I said to journalists, since they were nearby: Here is my friend, Svetoslav. He is a person who has done very much for Bulgaria, Macedonia, Eastern Europe, and Russia. Such people can become presidents—in Bulgaria and in other East European countries. I was speaking in this sense.

[Correspondent] Look here: Russian Hitler. This is written by [name indistinct]. Here is a quote from a British paper.

[Zhirinovskiy] Oh, of course!

[Correspondent] France warns that Zhirinovskiy is making provocative statements. Here you are in the newspaper clippings: Decoding the Russian Message, How Should We Decipher Zhirinovskiy? This is with what they are preoccupied.

[Zhirinovskiy] But here is TIME magazine. They make a very good presentation. They write very well. Other means of mass media present me in a different way, so there you are. The NEWSWEEK article is not so bad, nor is this, either. Look at it.

[Correspondent] There are episodes in your life, however, that have not been clarified.

[Zhirinovskiy] Please go ahead and ask.

[Correspondent] What did you do for a few years in Turkey?

[Zhirinovskiy] I worked as an interpreter for eight months. I had work experience for a few months. I was a university student in my final year at the time, and the fifth year consisted of work experience. I gained experience on the radio and television committee, and elsewhere as well. Then I went to Turkey as an interpreter, with a Russian engineers' delegation.

[Correspondent] Gorbachev says that the KGB is pulling your strings.

[Zhirinovskiy] He says this out of envy. He destroyed the party, the country. He ruined the economy. Then a new party with a young leader appears who succeeds in making advances in the elections. Because of this, he

thinks that I am helped by someone—or by a lot of capital, or by the KGB, as the world's most powerful secret police.

They are unable to accept that we are now living through different times. We ourselves created a party. I had very little money. There is more now. With regard to KGB-like bodies, no one is helping me. I would be pleased if I was given money.

[Correspondent] So Gorbachev is not telling the truth.

[Zhirinovskiy] No, that is certain.

[Correspondent] Another thing from your past. Israel supposedly gave you an entry permit as an immigrant. Is that true?

[Zhirinovskiy] No, that is a lie.

[Correspondent] Israel says this—the Israeli Government.

[Zhirinovskiy] It is a complete lie. Of course, show me the supposed relative of mine! If I had a relative there, I would be pleased. But I have no relative there.

[Correspondent] It is also said ....

[Zhirinovskiy, interrupting] I am Russian—I myself, my mother, my father, and the whole family. Half of them have already died.

[Correspondent] It is also said that you participated in the establishment of the Shalom association in Moscow.

[Zhirinovskiy] That is also a lie. The establishment of nationality associations was begun in Moscow five years ago by Kurds, Armenians, Assyrians, and so forth. All those who live here. Almost 1 million people of foreign descent live in Moscow. Among them, the Jews also decided to set up a cultural association called Shalom. I then visited these associations one after the other; I was invited and visited them. I am a legal expert, and that was the time that the association's statutes were adopted. I made some comments that they liked.

[Correspondent] Are there armed men in your party?

[Zhirinovskiy] No, not one—nothing near it. There is not one. I do not even have a penknife. All that I have—I bought this in Austria—is an ordinary exercise device to strengthen one's grip.

[Correspondent] So you will use only constitutional means in contending for power?

[Zhirinovskiy] That only. Heaven forbid. We have never organized violent action. In Moscow and in all of Russia, our party held the most peaceful rallies. That is history. There has never been violence—not a bit. There has never been a single scuffle. The whole world has been able to see this. Everyone saw these rallies. They were filmed: the most peaceful rallies in Moscow and the whole country; the most peaceful party members; the most peaceful groups of deputies in the regional bodies and at the national level. Everything was in full view.

The journalists, however, under the influence of certain international and national headquarters that oppose me, seek compromising facts. They must think up something: Either I am not Russian, or I am (?piarist), or anti-Semitic, or fascist, or communist, or a KGB person. They struggle. They are envious. They are jealous. Even Gorbachev.

All that Gorbachev is able to do .... [pauses] He said that supposedly. The paper was here somewhere; perhaps I left it at home. It was meant to show what he concerns himself with, but let's leave it. Let's leave it so that there is no quarrel. The whole thing has to do with sensitivities.

I gained an unprecedented victory. I agree with that. The whole world is upside down. Europe is trying to recover. They did not expect a four-year-old party, without special financial support, without the direct support of social strata—kolhoz members, farmers, the military industry—to be victorious in the elections. The instruments of power—the media, money, the powerful levers of influence—are in their hands, and they were still the losers.

That is what shocked them, because what happened here was that a military division defeated an army consisting of several hundreds of divisions. Naturally, the army consisting of several hundreds of divisions faints when a small division defeats an enormous army. That fact that one small party completely defeated the country's system was a political shock.

[Correspondent] Why does your colorful style terrify the world? They fear you more than the devil.

[Zhirinovskiy] What should we do? The whole world is slightly (?spoiled). Here, the communists were harmful; everything is atrophied. In the West, Europe is being Americanized. Everyone eats and drinks. They eat and drink, and then a new, young party appears with a resolute program and with energy. This naturally gives the impression of being new. Everything new generally is a bit frightening because they do not understand what it is—what type of party.

I tell everyone in advance to be calm, however. This is a democratic, centrist party. There is no danger, either domestically or abroad; nor will there ever be a danger. There will be only a legal constitutionality—pluralism, democracy, a mixed economy, and human rights.

Look only at my life story. The subject of one of my studies was human rights in the modern world. The topic of another of my studies: the writer and the man. Look at what I concerned myself with for 47 years. What did I concern myself with? Was I [word indistinct] a commando? Did I suppress rebellions? Then the price for this would be different.

I was a civilian my whole life. I was a soldier in Tbilisi for two years. I served in the staff headquarters in Tbilisi town center from 0900 until 1800 hours. I pushed papers about at the staff headquarters. I was never rebuked for anything. I did not abuse anyone. I did not participate in anything. This is generally known.

Please understand: I am 47 years old. I was born after the war. My life and that of my party are open to general view. It is unnecessary to think up anything.

[Correspondent] Then I thank you for the interview and for your time. The future will show what Zhirinovskiy means to world.

[Zhirinovskiy] Good.

[Announcer] After this stream of propaganda, the fuehrer set off for the Kremlin for a meeting of leaders of groups of deputies to the newly elected State Duma. His parting words: Europe do not fear! You know, we feel that we have reason to be afraid of this so-called liberal democrat.

Announces Visit to Poland

LD1001160494 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 1500 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] I am in favor of friendship and close cooperation between Poland and Russia, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy told our correspondent Irena Parchimowicz before his announced visit to Poland.

[Parchimowicz] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy told me that he intends to visit Poland in the very near future. The leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia was in a good mood today and declared his fraternal feelings for Poles. Many evil things happened in relations between the Tsarist empire and Poland, as well as in relations between the Soviet Union and Poland. One must forget and neutralize all that, Zhirinovskiy said, so that our relations will become good and Poles should not be afraid of us, because Russians and Poles are Slav brothers.

Asked whether Russia will allow the Germans to take away from Poland the former Prussian territories, Zhirinovskiy replied that he is against any changes of borders, which were finally recognized in Helsinki in 1975 at the CSCE conference.

Spain 'Emphatically' Denies Invitation to Zhirinovskiy

LD0701174794 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Spain's royal court has emphatically denied the reports in some of the mass media that King Juan Carlos invited Zhirinovskiy, the leader of Russia's Liberal Democratic Party, to visit Spain. These reports are totally devoid of any meaning, journalists were told by an official spokesman of the royal court.

According to Spain's EFE agency, Zhirinovskiy had himself spoken of the existence of the invitation to visit Spain, and his close associate Aleksandr Vengerovskiy claimed that the invitation had come through diplomatic channels.

Official circles in France recently reacted negatively to the intention of the Liberal Democratic Party leader to visit Paris in February. Earlier he was asked to leave Bulgaria and not allowed into Germany.

Ambassador Delivers Yeltsin Message for Syrian Leader

LD0801151694 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1421 GMT 8 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Yelistratov]

[Text] Cairo, 8 Jan—Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad today received a letter from Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation. The MENA agency reports that the personal message from the Russian President to the leader of the Syrian Arab Republic "concerns the development of the peace process in the Middle East and questions of bilateral relations between Syria and Russia."

The letter from Boris Yeltsin was handed over by the Russian Federation ambassador in Syria to Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar'.

The Russian Federation, together with the United States, is one of the sponsors of the process for a peaceful settlemnt of the Middle East conflict between Israel and the Arab states. The Arab-Israeli talks began over two years ago at the Madrid conference, of which Russia was one of the main organizers.

Ground Forces Commander Ends Visit to India

LD0801101094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0827 GMT 8 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Alexey Kuznetsov]

[Text] New Delhi January 8 TASS—"Russia and India have favourable prospects of developing bilateral cooperation, including in the military sphere," commander-in-chief of the Russian ground forces Colonel General Vladimir Semyonov said, ending his official visit to India as head of a military delegation.

According to Semyonov, Russia is committed to developing friendly relations with India, regarding it not only as a "strong ally, but also as a guarantor of stability in the Asia-Pacific region." He said that one of the objectives of the visit was to analyse right there, in India, matters dealing with military-technical cooperation, which are of interest for both sides. We should work for removing doubts that emerged recently in the minds of our Indian partners, Semyonov said.

During the visit Semyonov held talks with senior officials of the Indian Defence Ministry and met commanders of all the three armed services. They discussed issues connected with the organisation in the republic of a production base for the modernisation of Russian tanks other other military hardware, with which the Indian Army is equipped, as well as its repair and operation.

The commander of the Russian ground troops visited the southern military district, the training centre of the armoured troops and the higher artillery school near Puna, the state of Maharashtra. Besides, he acquainted himself with the everyday life of the Indian Army and praised its combat preparedness, professionalism and the skill of its generals, officers and soldiers.

Kazimirov Satisfied With Iran's Position on Karabakh

LD0901165194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1611 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] Tehran January 9 TASS—Russia and Iran ended two-day talks on the Karabakh settlement in Tehran on Sunday [9 January].

In an interview with ITAR-TASS on Sunday, Vladimir Kazimirov, head of the Russian delegation to the talks, expressed satisfaction with the negotiations, stressing that both sides consider as inadmissible any attempts to internationalise the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The participants in the talks agreed to take practical steps and act together if need be in order to end the bloodshed and stabilise the situation in the war zone. Iran and Russia are ready to support constructive moves by international organisations and separate countries in this direction, Kazimirov said.

Over the last two days Kazimirov met with Iranian [Deputy] Foreign Minister Mahm'ud Va'ezi and Iranian Foreign Ministry department for the CIS and the Caucasus Morteza Bank. [sentence as received]

Russia is acting as a mediator in the conflict settlement in the disputed enclave. It channels its efforts in several directions: Mediation proper, activities within the framework of the Minsk talks of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as active contacts with the states interested in ending the bloodshed because of their geographical closeness to the war zone, Kazimirov said.

"Within this context we continue enhancing mutual understanding with Iran, whose borders are now close to the war as never before," Kazimirov said.

He stressed that the talks have revealed the closeness of the two countries' approaches to and assessments of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. An agreement has been reached to maintain regular contacts and take concrete steps to resolve the conflict.

Kazimirov noted that Russia will continue "persistent" mediatory efforts in order to reach a concrete and binding agreement on ceasefire and termination of hostilities. This will pave the way for solving many other problems caused by the conflict, including the withdrawal of troops from the occupied territories, the return of refugees to the places of their permanent residence, resumption of transport services and energy supplies, and acceleration of the negotiation process on the whole.

Kazimirov's visit has been initiated by the Russian side, following a new aggravation of the conflict. The Russian envoy is expected to leave Tehran on Monday.

Government Agrees To Unfreeze Credit to Armenia

LD0801100194 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Agreement on Russia's unfreezing last year's credit to Armenia, amounting to 24,000 million rubles [R], has been reached at a meeting between the two countries' prime ministers, Viktor Chernomyrdin and Grant Bagratyan. According to the SNARK agency, Moscow will also grant Yerevan credit totaling R10,000 million for rehabilitation work in the earthquake area. Additionally, the sides decided during the talks to consider, before 20 January, the question of the joint running of the Armenian nuclear power station.

Yeltsin, Turkmenistan's Niyazov Discuss Cooperation

LD1001153194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1438 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Text] Ashgabat January 10 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Turkmen leader Saparmurad Niyazov discussed via telephone on Monday [10 January] the implementation of Russian-Turkmen agreements.

The two leaders confirmed the importance of the documents signed by Russia and Turkmenistan on the eve of the new year as the basis for mutually advantageous and equal partnership. They stressed that the agreements help promote mutual understanding and friendship between the two nations.

Niyazov voiced support for Russian reform carried out by Yeltsin and his government.

The two presidents also discussed prospects for cooperation in using marine resources of the Caspian Sea and the possibility of holding a summit meeting of the Caspian Sea states in 1994.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Protecting Citizens' Rights

LD0901172894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1647 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—The Russian Foreign Ministry has worked out a special programme to protect the rights of Russians living in other countries, Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov said.

Speaking on Russian television on Sunday, Lavrov said that the programme will be submitted to the government as soon as the sources of its financing are found.

He voiced concern about the position of many Russians in some republics of the former Soviet Union, especially in Latvia and Estonia where about 1.5 million Russians are deprived of their civil and political rights.

He said similar problems face Russians in Central Asian republics, including Kazakhstan. Although Russia has friendly relations with that republic, the Kazakh Constitution says that the Kazakh nation, rather that Kazakhstan's people, will seek to restore its statehood. This lends an ethnic flavour to the entire concept of statehood of Kazakhstan where Russians and Kazakhs account for about 40 per cent of the total each, the deputy minister noted.

Lavrov said that the idea of dual citizenship is encountering tremendous difficulties in former Soviet republics. He admitted, however, that although dual citizenship will not solve all the problems, it may have a positive psychological impact on people and help ease tension.

Plight of Servicemen Detained by Moldova for Theft Viewed

PM0701174194 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 94 p 2

["Own information" report: "Beware of the Car"]

[Text] The trial in Chisinau of Russian military personnel accused of stealing a car long ago acquired the hallmarks of a political trial—in the same category as those which give grounds for maxims like "Politics is a dirty business!"

The prosecution is studiously silent about the defendants' real "guilt"—their participation in the protection of polling places in Chisinau during the March 1991 USSR referendum banned by the local authorities. In the two years they have been kept in custody these three officers and one private have been punished worse than for murder. They have been kept in Chisinau detention centers in health-endangering conditions. On 6 June 1993 they were even put before the court with traces of beatings on their faces.

During his imprisonment Major Vladimir Teterin has lost 20 kg and has caught tuberculosis in its open form; several times he has coughed up blood. The effects of the skull and brain injury and contusion he received in Afghanistan are manifesting themselves in Captain Vladimir Gram, the other paratrooper; he is plagued by terrible headaches. The health of Major Sergey Cherkasov and Private Andrey Khorkov has been wrecked.

It would be a mistake to think that the slow killing of Russian officers and soldiers was carried out only at a time when their fate did not attract public attention. In June the court cynically refused to allow Chisinau's N. Pirogov Association of Medical Workers to carry out an independent medical examination of the detainees. Instead of stopping the beatings and giving treatment for tuberculosis and the effects of contusion they were sent for psychiatric observation, which culminated in a finding as to their sanity. As regards Teterin, the detention center doctor issued a piece of paper saying that he is healthy and that it is apparently only a question of "residual fluctuations in the lungs after a previous bout of tuberculosis," as though what was staring him in the face was not a man virtually on the brink of death. No appeals to the law are of assistance. When asked 23 December by the judge whether he had any complaints or statements to register, Maj. Cherkasov replied in the negative: "No. Complaints are useless because they don't give a damn about them here."

Representatives of public human rights organizations continue to be amazed by the cynicism of the people staging this court spectacle. First, for some reason a military tribunal is trying people who have never served in the Moldovan Army. Second, the judge, Captain Vladimir Timofti, is clearly trying to drag out the court examination. On 22 December the court session was canceled on a humorous pretext: The judge deemed the tribunal's corridors too narrow to allow such dangerous criminals as the alleged car thieves to be led along them. The next day the corridors evidently seemed wider to the judge, but the defendants—each of them—were brought under an escort of two men armed with submachine guns and dogs. The entrance to the tribunal was guarded by an entire platoon with assault rifles. Who was the judge trying to impress?

At the session Maj. Teterin refused to give evidence, demanding medical aid. The court's aim, Maj. Cherkasov stated, is to discredit the Russian Army and portray the Russian military as criminals. He bluntly accused the court of carrying out the government's orders and refused to recognize it.

Capt. Gram expressed his solidarity with Cherkasov. He demanded that an expert medical examination be made and accused the detention center organs of treating the defendants brutally. Every time I make statements the court does not like, he said, I am transferred to conditions fit only for cattle, to a cellar, to a cell in which 30 instead of 10 people are kept. Citing his grave state of health, the captain refused to give evidence to the court. It is hard to think of the military prosecutor as a person who has not been initiated into the covert essence of the

"case," but having seen the defendants even he echoed the defense's demand for them to be medically examined. The judge refused on this occasion too, placing the attorneys in a state of disarray. Viktor Magnushev, a Russian jurist and representative of the Congress of Russian Communities, expressed doubt about the advisability of his participating in the trial given such an attitude by the court toward the defense's arguments.

The Chisinau press is full of tearful bleating about the trial in Tiraspol of a group of Moldovan Ministry of National Security terrorists which killed two Dniester region politicians. In two years no information about Moldovan Justice's outrage against the persons of Russian military personnel has found its way onto the pages of local newspapers. The Russian Defense Ministry and the Russian judicial organs, not to mention the Foreign Ministry, are apparently concerned only with searching for a reason to cast four Russian soldiers to the mercy of fate and Chisinau officialdom. The Dniester region press has already expressed the suspicion that the Chisinau leadership regards S.A. Cherkasov, V.Ye. Teterin, A.M. Khorkov, and V.A. Gram as hostages, intending to exchange them for the murderers convicted in Tiraspol. No denials from Moldova have been forthcoming.

"Anything goes in relation to Russians! The West will approve of everything we are going to do against Russians!" These slogans, which for five years now have been quietly voiced in editions of pro-Romanian newspapers and sometimes in local corridors of power, can be read between the false lines of the indictments and the admissions obtained by the investigation by recourse to threats and violence. Only a firm word from Moscow can stop what are in many respects reprisals which have already been carried out against Russian military personnel. Are the Russian power structures capable of doing this? The Russian soldiers in the Chisinau torture chamber continue to hope so.

Importance of World Arms Market Stressed

PM0701153794 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jan 94 p 3

[Vladimir Kosarev article: "Russia Must Take Its Place in the Arms Market. Thoughts Inspired by the Results of the 'Lima-93' International Naval and Aerospace Exhibition"]

[Text] Dozens of arms exhibitions are held in the world every year. It is symbolic that the largest of them (the Abu Dhabi exhibition of arms and military hardware) was held at the beginning of 1993, while the second most important one (the "Lima-93" international naval and aerospace exhibition on the Malaysian island of Langkawi) marked the end of the year.

For Russian defense industry workers both exhibitions were landmarks and were even unprecedented, above all because practically all our leading enterprises, scientific research institutes, and design bureaus engaged in designing and producing weapons were represented there for the first time, along with their latest products, including those stemming from conversion. It was these exhibitions that gave specialists an opportunity to judge the place that Russia holds on the world arms market and how successful our attempts have been to counter such arms suppliers as the United States, Britain, and France in a very fierce competitive struggle.

In recent years Russia, in the grip of political confrontation, has lost many of its priorities, including those in the sphere of arms production and the arms trade. Since 1990 we have seen an almost fivefold reduction in arms exports. Market laws are particularly severe in this specific sphere of trade: Russia has reduced arms sales, and other countries have sharply increased production and at once filled the vacuum. The United States today controls more than 50 percent of world arms exports. So under these conditions the Russians' decision to participate so extensively in exhibitions was justified politically and economically, although to a considerable degree it was also risky. Russian defense industry workers—above all, the organizers of our exhibit—felt the tough pressure from competitors back during preparations for the exhibitions.

Tribute must be paid to the specialists of the "Oboronekspport" Russian State Foreign Economic Association for Exports of Military Products and Services who, working in close contact with representatives of the Ministry of Defense, made a thorough study of the regions where exhibitions are held and of the interests of potential buyers. The best of what we have was shown both in the Emirates and in Malaysia. The S-300PMU-1 and S-300V, Igla, and Tor-M1 antiaircraft missile complexes and systems, the Piranya and Triton small and miniature [malyy i sverkhmalyy] submarines, and the Ka-50 combat helicopter were the real sensation of the exhibitions.

The aviation section of the Malaysian exhibition was probably the most interesting. Some 300 major aviation companies presented their products—everything that holds leading positions in the aviation world. The Russian exhibit appeared highly impressive against this background.

Whereas our country demonstrated just one Ruslan and one MiG-29 fighter at the previous exhibition in Malaysia, we took four MiG-29's, two Su-27's, and also the MiG-31 long-range fighter-interceptor to "Lima-93." At the same time all the aircraft and airmen arrived straight from the ranks, as it were—from combat air units—and had not made any special preparation for the exhibition. Under a blazing sun (up to 40 degrees in the shade) our military engineers and technicians prepared the MiG's in just two days, exceeding all existing norms.

The demonstration flights began right after the official opening of the exhibition, and our military airmen participated in each of them: Colonels Aleksandr Kutuzov and Vladimir Bazhenov, Lieutenant Colonels Boris Grigoryev, Vladimir Gryzlov, and Aleksandr

Lichkun, and Majors Aleksey Sherstnev, Andrey Makarenko, and Aleksandr Katashinskiy, displaying brilliant skill in very complex aerobatics figures and eliciting the admiration of onlookers and specialists and the envy of foreign colleagues. "Selfless work by airmen with excellent hardware." This is not my assessment—this was what the foreign press wrote about our airmen.

Among the conversion output of defense enterprises specialists and businessmen showed special interest in the passenger surface-effect vehicles developed by the Central Design Bureau for Hydrofoils (Nizhniy Novgorod), in the underwater excursion craft created by St. Petersburg's "Rubin" Central Design Bureau for Marine Equipment, and in helicopters and launches which can be used for sea patrols, rescue operations, and services to island resorts. It is only to be regretted that for purely economic reasons these exhibits were shown in the form of models and photographs and not in real life. Incidentally, all the recreational vessels were sold out at the previous "Lima-91" exhibition before it ended.

Journalists expect sensations from exhibitions. The Emirates' purchase of a large consignment of French Leclerc tanks was named as the sensation at "IDEX-93 in the United Arab Emirates, and at the "Lima-93" exhibition it was the contract to supply Malaysia with eight F/A-18 fighters, whereas the contract with Russia, which has long been in preparation, to supply the Malaysians with 18 MiG-29's was not signed. In my view the reasons for this are not commercial but purely political. This is particularly obvious in the context of the results of the conference of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Organization held in Seattle before the exhibition itself. We know that the ASEAN countries are the fourth largest source of imports to the United States and stand in sixth place among America's export markets. In 1992 the volume of U.S. trade with them amounted to $60 billion, while U.S. investments in these states topped $16 billion. The Americans held the conference with great pomp, making it their main aim to turn APEC into a disciplined organization capable of ensuring the expansion of trade and investments in the Asia-Pacific region. The first major obstacle to face them on this path was the refusal by Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed to participate in the Seattle meeting. The main reason for the boycott was the reluctance to turn APEC into a means of U.S. domination over the countries of Southeast Asia. In the opinion of experts, Malaysia's purchase of U.S. fighters is a kind of goodwill gesture or an attempt at reconciliation with the United States. According to other assessments, Malaysia deliberately acquires military hardware from different countries, so "limiting these countries' opportunity for dictating terms and influencing Malaysia's policy."

The contract with Russia for MiG-29's is still at the elaboration stage. "There is only a small holdup," Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed assured journalists, "and the champagne can already be ordered." I would like to hope that the skill of the Russian military airmen and the quality of our combat hardware demonstrated at the Malaysian exhibition will be a weighty factor in the competitive struggle with Western aircraft companies and a good argument in favor of signing the contract. But its birth pangs demand a thorough analysis and exacting assessments. The BROOKINGS REVIEW, published by the Brookings Institution in Washington, carried an analysis of Russian arms exports. It describes with heavy irony the history of the preparation of the MiG-29 contract. It reports, in particular, that representatives of 18 different intermediary organizations, each of which claimed to have the right to sell these aircraft, visited Malaysia within a short space of time. The competition that developed among the Russians created chaos and substantially undermined their positions in the negotiations.

Until recently "Oboroneksport" was the head organization with the right to sell Russian weapons. With offices in 40 countries, it supplied abroad almost 90 percent of all the weapons exported by Russia. Recently the "Spetsvneshtekhnika" GVK [expansion unknown], the Main Administration for Cooperation and Collaboration, and "Promeksport" have been trading in weapons. Other organizations, including the manufacturing plants, have also sought the right to sell weapons, frequently competing but more frequently hindering each other in the conclusion of contracts. Shortly before the opening of the Malaysian exhibition the Russian Federation president signed an edict setting up the "Rosvooruzheniye" State Company for Exports and Imports of Arms and Military Hardware on the basis of "Oboroneksport," "Spetsvneshtekhnika," and the Main Administration for Cooperation and Collaboration. The ink on the edict was not dry before a mighty wave of criticism crashed down on it in the press in full accordance with our Russian traditions. A group of very famous arms producers even proposed suspending the president's edict.

Be that as it may, a desire to instill order in the arms trade and to elaborate a state concept of military exports can be seen behind the new presidential act. Only it is important that all the innovations do not end in an elementary shakeup of the former systems in order to satisfy somebody's ambitions, and that the tremendous experience accumulated by "Oboroneksport" over the 40 years of its existence and the unique cadres it has reared are fully employed when the new mechanism is created.

We have only just realized the importance to Russia of arms exports and learned to ignore the preaching about

the immorality of the arms trade which only recently was issuing both from the pages of the press and from parliamentary rostrums. I remember how Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation minister of defense who headed the Russian delegation at the Abu Dhabi exhibition, was forced to explain to our own Russian journalists that we do not seek to sell weapons to just anyone to be used in combat operations of an offensive nature or in order to upset the balance of forces in a region. We offer military output in strict accordance with international laws for defensive purposes. "Commerce will not conflict with politics but will ensure the achievement of Russia's political and economic ends."

It is not only the destinies of millions of working people in the military-industrial complex and our economic revival that depend on whether our country returns to the world arms market and on how successful our arms business is—the fate of Russia itself also depends on this.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Decree Reduces Number of Federal Ministries

LD1001120194 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 10 Jan 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Sergey Vozyanov] The Russian Federation president's press service announced today that Boris Yeltsin has issued a decree on the structure of the federal executive authorities.

Under the decree, the number of ministries is reduced to 23. The head of the Russian government will now have four deputies, including two first deputies. The decree has been given priority for examination by the Federal Assembly.

Official Appointments, Retirements Announced

PM1001114194 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 1

["Monitoring" feature: "Cadres"]

[Excerpt] The following have been relieved of their posts by edicts of the Russian Federation president:

Anatoliy Sliva, who held the post of deputy chief of the Russian Federation President's State Legal Administration and head of department in this administration, in connection with his election as a deputy to the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly;

Vladimir Sysov, who held the post of chairman of the Russian Federation Committee for Physical Culture, at his own request.

Aleksey Glukhov has been appointed Russian Federation Ambassador to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg by an edict of the Russian Federation president. Chingiz Aytmatov has been relieved of this post in connection with his retirement. [passage omitted]

Details of Yeltsin Edict on Government Reorganization

LD1001142894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1414 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASs—The presidential decree "on the structure of federal authorities of the executive branch," which both journalists and many members of the government were so eager to see, was signed by Boris Yeltsin today. While the decree was being drafted, both the president and the prime minister pointed out that it was aimed, in the first place, at improving the efficiency of the government's work, the reduction of its staff and of the number of ministries and agencies.

As was expected, only cosmetic changes were made in the government structure: The number of ministries was reduced from about 30 to 23, a number of state committees were merged with others or transformed into ministries and federal services. From now on, the government will include 24 state committees and 20 federal services and departments.

It is noteworthy that, according to the decree, some federal agencies, specifically the Defence Ministry, the Interior Ministry, the Foreign Ministry, the external intelligence and counter- intelligence services, the main guards department, the government communication and information agency, the archive service, the TV and radio broadcasting service are subordinated to the president.

The decree leaves open the question of who will be second-in- command in the government. The only thing the decree says is that there will be four deputy prime ministers instead of nine. Two of them will be first deputy prime ministers. The decree suggests that "the chairman of the Russian Government shall nominate within a week candidates for first deputy chairmen and deputy chairmen of the Russian Government, as well as federal ministers."

Oleg Soskovets and Yegor Gaydar now have the greatest chances of becoming first deputy prime ministers, ITAR-TASS learned from reliable government sources. So far as the remaining two candidates are concerned, the situation is not clear. Aleksandr Zaveryukha, now in charge of the agricultural sector of the national economy, may become one of them. According to the sources, it is quite probable that Boris Fedorov, now deputy prime minister and minister of finance, will become the fourth deputy prime minister. His chances are fifty-fifty. Fedorov gained the reputation of a skillful politician thanks to his open polemics with Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin and the chairman of the Central Bank.

And still, this forecast of the government official about Fedorov may be wrong, because it is doubtful that the minister of finance will be able to find a common language with Chairman of the Central Bank Viktor Gerashchenko, who enjoys the support of Viktor Chernomyrdin and shows no intention of leaving his post.

Those who are now deputy prime ministers will hardly be left without high posts, this time in the Federal Assembly. Most probably, this will happen to Vladimir Shumeyko and Sergey Shakhray. As for Anatoliy Chubays, the Russian privatization supremo, he is expected to retain only the post of chairman of the State Property Committee.

The fact that Yeltsin signed the decree on the reorganisation of the government today, of all days, is important

for one more reason: Contrary to all forecasts, he did it before the beginning of the work of the Federal Assembly. Instead of gaining some political advantages by signing the document after the parliament starts working, Yeltsin decided to take this step today. This shows that the president is set to maintain "tough-constructive" relations between the executive branch and the lawmakers, and is going to build relations with the new parliament, proceeding, in the first place, from the broad powers given to him by the new constitution.

New Intelligence Service Chiefs Hold News Conference

LD1001123794 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By correspondent A. Dubnov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Representatives of the newly reconstituted Federal Counterintelligence Service held a news conference today at the Foreign Ministry's press center in Moscow. On 5 January 1994, an edict of the Russian president endorsed the service's standing orders which, according to its deputy director Sergey Stepashin, was an expected surprise [as heard] for its members.

The new structure is not a copy of the disbanded Security Ministry but makes the service answerable directly to the president, as is the practice in many other countries. Its remit covers such important matters as identification, advance warning, and prevention of subversive and intelligence activities directed against the Russian Federation by foreign special services and organizations; supply of intelligence information on threats to Russia; the fight against terrorism, illegal trading in weapons and narcotic substances, and illegal armed groups; and also counterintelligence support to ensure the security of Russian borders. This is despite the fact that the border troops have reorganized into a separate federal service with ministry status.

One thing worth pointing out is that the Federal Counterintelligence Service's manpower has been cut by 46 percent and will total 75,000 persons. The number of administrators has been more than halved.

In the new structure, the main emphasis is on strengthening the counterintelligence and the anti-terrorism departments.

So, this notorious power structure has undergone yet another overhaul. Time will show how effective this one will be.

Commission Discusses Economic Security; Chairman Appointed

LD1001152694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1454 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—The interdepartmental commission of the Russian Security Council on economic security held its first meeting here on Monday. President Boris Yeltsin issued a decree appointing Andrey Zverev, head of the economic division of the Russian Government's office, chairman of the commission.

The meeting examined the drafting of a nation-wide economic security doctrine as well as progress in carrying out economic reforms and other issues.

The meeting was attended by top executives of ministries and departments represented on the commission.

Yeltsin Adviser on Relations Between Parties, State

LD0801192094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1901 GMT 8 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—Less than a month after the parliamentary elections in Russia, centrists led by Vladimir Voronin have begun tossing up the question of early presidential elections this coming summer.

Commenting on their calls, Georgiy Satarov, an adviser to President Boris Yeltsin, said in an interview with ITAR-TASS on Saturday [8 January] that under the new Russian Constitution "the president of the Russian Federation... As of the day this constitution enters into force shall execute his powers established thereof until the expiration of his term of office for which he has been elected."

This provision can be changed by two thirds of the state Duma, two thirds of the Federation Council and as many of the subjects of the federation. Additionally, attempts to question the will of the voters by any party would mean disrespect for their opinion, Satarov said.

At the same time, Satarov, who also heads the Russian Social and Political Centre which groups over 20 parties, believes that the "state, if it is interested in normal communication with society, should provide material support to all political parties irrespective of their political orientation because it is the parties that perform the function of such communication." If the state intends to maintain the dialogue with society, it should find out, with the help of parties, and take into account public interests in its policy, Satarov added.

He noted that as far as multi-party system is concerned, "we are still living by the old Soviet legislation which does not differentiate between the types of public organisations." According to Satarov they are divided into three groups. Political parties are one of them. "Because they (political parties) participate in the formation of such important substance as power, political parties should be absolutely 'transparent' for society and the state," he said. In other words, citizens have the right to know what goals are pursued by such parties, who finances them and how they spend their money. Under

the current legislation, this cannot be found out because it is impossible to differentiate between political parties and non-political organisations.

Apart from political parties, there are also non-political organisations in Russia, including human rights, youth, children organisations and others. "The state can and should effectively use such organisations to pursue its policy, for example provide support for the family, victims of repressions and so on." Satarov believes that these organisations would carry out their functions and use state funds more effectively than the structures within the presidential administration.

"In all civilised countries the state tries to hand over such functions to public organisations," Satarov noted, stressing that the state should retain the right to control their expenditures.

Additionally, there are sort of interest clubs which unite philatelists, dog owners, plant growers and others. They act independently from the state and solve their problems on their own.

Satarov emphasised that "there should be three different legislations for different public organisations." But in Russia which has no normal civil society, its formation cannot be left without the participation of the state. The Russian Social and Political Centre has been established as a means of the state's participation in this process. As a state structure, the centre provides information and analytical materials to all branches of power. Recently, Satarov appealed to President Boris Yeltsin, urging him to work out a new legislation applicable to different types of parties and public organisations and taking into account the new realities of Russian life.

Kostikov Warns Communists Against New Attacks

LD1001155194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1456 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Anna Melnikova and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—On the eve of the first parliament session presidential spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov warned communists against launching attacks on the president and the Constitution and added that the president wants to constructively work with the legislature.

Kostikov told a briefing on Monday [10 January] that there are signs that communists are planning to launch attacks on the president and the new Constitution in parliament thus resuming what the former anti-Yeltsin legislature had failed to complete.

"Unfortunately, according to information which we possess, there are big fears that some factions, in particular the communists, are getting ready for attacks on the government, the president. We have all grounds to expect that attacks on the new Constitution will be launched", he said.

Kostikov called on communist leaders to remember "the bloody trace left by communists and learn lessons from it" while criticising the young Russian democracy and accusing the president of dictatorship.

"On the eve of the first session of the State Duma I would like to recall the tragic events connected with the bolshevik history", he said referring, in particular, to the anti-Bolshevik uprising in the fortress of Kronstadt in 1921 which was drowned in blood.

On Monday the Russian president decreed to rehabilitate the soldiers and navymen who were executed during and after the anti-Bolshevik uprising.

Kostikov said the president wants that cooperation with Duma goes calmly and constructively. "Tomorrow a new page of the Russian democracy begins and we are all interested that this stage of cooperation of the president, the government with the legislature is quiet and constructive", he stressed adding that the executive authority would "keep a close eye on the behaviour" of all parliamentary groups.

Communist Faction Discusses Strategy for State Duma

LD0901133094 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Jan 94

[By correspondent Lillevyali from Moscow; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The communist faction, one of the largest factions of the new parliament, held a working meeting seminar in the Moscow parliamentary center today in the run up to the start of the work of the parliament.

[Correspondent] On the agenda of the meeting which was held behind closed doors were issues connected with the running of the State Duma. During the very first days of the work of the parliament's lower chamber the communist deputies intend to give a political assessment of the October 1993 events in Moscow and of the referendum on the new constitution.

Replying to a question about the election of the State Duma chairman, Deputy Viktor Zorkaltsev said that the four largest factions: Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, Russia's Choice, Communists, and the Agrarians have decided not to put their candidates forward for the position of speaker. He underscored that if a faction is powerful enough it can exert its influence in other ways. That is why representatives of the four largest factions have decided to allow a candidate from the smallest factions run for the post of chairman of the chamber.

[Zorkaltsev] The largest factions will put forward their candidates for the positions of deputy chairmen. In all there will be candidates for chairman and four deputy

chairmen and they should be put to the vote as a package. Resolving that issue in this way provides an opportunity to elect the leadership of the Duma in a matter of a few hours, to elect and approve the composition of the Duma committees, and elect the leadership of those committees without having to drag out the resolution of the organizational matters for two to three months as used to be the case in the past.

[Lillevyali] According to Zorkaltsev, the main bone of contention to emerge in the Duma will concern the accomodation of the Duma and not the election of the speaker.

Gaydar's Aide on Russia's Choice Stand on Duma Talks

LD0701155294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] The Russia's Choice bloc has suspended its participation in the negotiations held by the leaders of the State Duma's factions. Members of the bloc's executive committee and representatives of Russia's Choice in the deputies commissions, who are members of the organizational committee to prepare the State Duma's work, made this decision on Thursday evening.

Commenting this decision for INTERFAX, Yegor Gaydar's aide explained position of Russia's Choice bloc's leader on this issue. He said that despite the unacceptability to cooperate with the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, at the request of small parliamentary factions the bloc had participated in the negotiations because it believes that it should use any chance for a constructive work of the State Duma.

However, as Gaydar's aide said, in the course of the negotiations on the future chairman of the State Duma, his deputies and chairmen of the parliamentary committees, opponents of Russia's Choice bloc tried to prolong the time because at every sitting they offered new candidacies to replace those approved the day before.

It has become obvious, he said, that "a tripartite bloc," consisting of Liberal Democratic Party, Communist party, and Agrarian Party of Russia, has formed in the process of the negotiations which has started to divide the posts of parliamentary committees' leaders. According to their plans, representatives of the Liberal Democratic Party must head, in particular, the committee on international affairs and defense, representatives of the communist party—committees on state security and economic policy, and a representative of the Agrarian party—a committee on constitutional legislature and legal reform.

Under this situation the Russia's Choice bloc has decided that it will not participate in such a division of the State Duma and make it legal as it is prematurely a non-constrcutive one. Simultaneously Russia's Choice called the State Duma's democratic factions, that is, all factions except the Liberal Democratic Party, Communist party, and Agrarian party to hold active consultations in order to adopt decisions which would promote for the constrcutive work of the State Duma.

"It will not take much time if there is a mutual wish to find a coordinated decision," said INTERFAX interlocutor. In his words, Russia's Choice views the principle according to which representative of one of the small factions must become chairman of the State Duma and representatives of Russia's Choice, Liberal Democratic Party, Communist party, and Agrarian party - his deputies as "rather doubtful because it does not take into account interests of small factions."

According to Gaydar's aide, Russia's Choice would agree to see either Alevtina Fedulova (leader of Russia's Women bloc), or first deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin or Vladimir Lukin, both representing Yavlinskiy's bloc, on the post of the chairman of the State Duma.

Yegor Gaydar's aide also reported that in the course of a two-day working conference held by the members of the bloc on January 5-6, the Russia's Choice bloc had discussed the bloc's tactics in the Duma and working documents to be submitted to the parliament by Russia's Choice.

Russia's Choice wants to propose to the State Duma to go through the organizational stage as soon as possible and to concentrate its efforts on the law making work. However, "the situation is being painfully worsening," said INTERFAX interlocutor.

Zyuganov on Russia's Choice Rejecting Talks on Duma Speaker

LD0701175894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1625 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] In his interview with Interfax on Friday [7 January] Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of Russia's Communist Party, declared that the unwillingness of the bloc Russia's Choice to participate in the negotiations on the speaker of the State Duma, as declared the bloc's leader Yegor Gaydar, does not mean that the ongoing consultations would be concluded.

In his opinion, representatives of the Russia's Choice bloc "cannot come to ourselves" after the large defeat at the December 12 elections. Zyuganov believes that Russia's Choice does not understand that its influence in the parliament, in contrast to executive power bodies, is not a dominating one and it "will have to take into account" other political forces as well.

In Zyuganov's words, in the course of the negotiations the Communist Party will defend interests of all factions, including the Russia's Choice. Zyuganov called a compromise variant which was considered at the negotiations, namely when representatives of each of eight

factions will head one key parliamentary committee (there are correspondingly eight committees).

Russia's Choice Stops Negotiating With Duma Factions

LD0801184494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1657 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Commenting the Russia's Choice bloc decision to suspend its participation in negotiations, deputy of the State Duma Gennadiy Burbulis, one of the leaders of Russia's Choice, said in his interview with Interfax on Saturday [8 January] that in the course of negotiations between leaders of the State Duma's factions there appeared two extremist radical groupings. The Russia's Choice bloc believes that it is not only "fruitless" but also "unacceptable and dangerous for the public conscience" to negotiate with them under the present situation.

"One of this grouping is a left-wing radical one made up of representatives of the ideology of the Soviet, namely communist period of the Russian history," said Burbulis. The question concerns the parliamentary factions of Russia's communist party and agrarian party, he explained. The second right-wing radical grouping is represented by the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia which "openly propagates national fascist ideas," believes Burbulis.

"All constructive proposals set forth by Russia's Choice confronts self-mercenary interests of there two radical groupings," he said.

In Burbulis' opinion, continuation of negotiations with these two extremely radical forces could lead to the oblivion of those strategic goals for the sake of which the Russia's Choice bloc has been formed and of those positions which its candidates have defended in the course of the pre-election campaign.

The deputies elected from the bloc Russia's Choice, Burbulis continued, strive "to ensure stability in the country without deviating from the principal course aimed at deep democratic transformations in Russia."

Burbulis believes that the participation of Russia's Choice in the negotiations probably has been a demonstration of its "political shortsightedness."

In the course of the negotiations, Burbulis said, "appetites of extremist radical factions have grown into the claims to head key parliamentary committees, including the committee on international affairs, defense, security, legislature, and financial-economic committees."

While commenting the intention of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia's Vladimir Zhirinovskiy to head the international affairs committee, Burbulis declared that "it should not take place under any situation." "This will be an appeal to other countries to defend and to move away from Russia again though the latter has demonstrated that it is ready for a comprehensive and useful integration into the world community," said Burbulis.

When asked whether the faction Russia's Choice does not fear to appear in the minority, Burbulis answered: "It is more dangerous for us to loose our positions in the society and confidence of our electors." According to Burbulis, position of Russia's Choice is well known to the participants of the negotiations."

Russia's Choice Meeting Elects Faction Leaders

LD1001093994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0832 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—Russia's Choice, one of the new Russian parliament's major groups, began an all-night vigil on Sunday [9 January], which ended at 01.00 on Monday morning, to discuss organisation of its work in the Federal Assembly. The meeting elected faction leaders.

Yegor Gaydar was elected head of the "Russia's Choice" parliamentary faction, a spokesman for the State Duma leadership told ITAR-TASS.

Boris Zolotukhin, a former people's deputy and a member of the Russian Supreme Soviet's democratic wing, was elected the deputy head of the group. He will be in charge of the legislative work and relations with other parliamentary groups.

Anatoliy Chubays, the second deputy, will be responsible for ties with the government. Sergey Yushenkov, also a former member of the Russian parliament dissolved by President Boris Yeltsin last September, will be the faction's senior secretary.

The meeting also discussed and approved a programme for the first session of the State Duma and the faction's activity. It was agreed that any faction member "must vote solidarily" if so decided by a two-third majority at the faction's general meeting.

Gaydar Comments

LD1001125594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1219 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina and Yulia Kantor]

[Text] January 10 ITAR-TASS—Parliamentary groups and individual deputies must take political responsibility for any damage done to Russia's national and state interests, stability and peace by their pronouncements and actions, the parliamentary faction made up of members of the Russia's Choice electoral coalition said in a statement, which it adopted on January 9 and plans to

submit for consideration of the State Duma as a legislative initiative, faction Chairman Yegor Gaydar told ITAR-TASS.

The statement was prompted by some actions and pronouncements of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party which has the largest single faction in Russia's new parliament. According to Yegor Gaydar, these prononcements and calls fall clearly within the scope of those articles in the criminal code of the Russian Federation which outlaw the propaganda of war. "We will raise a question about due legal assessment of violations of this ban," Gaydar said.

He was evidently referring to Zhirinovskiy's threats to Germany, Europe and NATO, and Gaydar's Deputy Boris Zolotukhin said a call for war was unmistakable in Zhirinovskiy's book "The Last Push to the South".

According to Gaydar, Russia's Choice reached an agreement about solidary voting of 94 faction members in the parliament, whenever a decision on such voting is adopted by a two-third majority of faction members.

As concerns interfaction cooperation, Russia's Choice tends to interact with all factions in the State Duma's bodies, but "is unable to collude with the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, Communists and Agrarians against other parties". Gaydar expressed apprehension that these factions may seek to "usurp control over the key committees and commissions of the State Duma, in particular, over the commission in charge of defence and international relations."

As concerns the constructive programme of Russia's Choice, the faction has prepared a package of initiatives in the field of social and economic policy, including initiatives in the housing sphere.

The new parliament's law-making activity should focus on this key issue of the development of society, Gaydar said. He added that his faction has worked out proposals for legal and economic guarantees of the freedom of the press.

The faction Secretary Sergey Yushenkov said in an interview with ITAR-TASS that the faction fully supports the journalists' demand that the government resolution be repealed before the prices of periodicals increase six-fold.

As concerns relations between faction and the government, Gaydar distanced himself from the cabinet decisions which stipulated the expansion of subsidies to enterprises in 1993, and led to the increasing budget deficit and unjustified procurement of farming produce, all of which resulted in a financial crisis of the state.

Russia's Choice is planning to support in parliament those members of the government who share the faction's objectives.

Gaydar said he has come to realize the need to establish a single party of liberal reforms to coordinate the activity of all democratic forces in Russia.

Zhirinovskiy Opens Meeting of Deputies

LD1001121694 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By correspondent O. Safiyulin; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Deputies in the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia faction are now holding their first meeting in the Russian parliamentary center. In his brief opening speech, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy once again described his party as one of the best in Russia. He said that the faction does not intend to enter any blocs and that at present it is not interested in what kind of republic Russia will become, presidential or parliamentary. He also noted that the party stands for reconciliation, liberty, and law, and that society should not now be divided into communists, blues and greens—everyone should be equal before the law.

After this, he asked journalists to leave, saying that thereafter, the faction's deputies would be tackling their own problems and tasks, which by all appearances we will be learning about in the next few days.

'Ready To Cooperate With All'

LD1001125894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1232 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—The parliamentary group of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia held its first meeting on Monday [10 January].

Journalists displayed great interest in this event, since all other top party functionaries, apart from LDPR leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, as well as newly elected legislators are, in fact, unknown to the public at large.

However, despite Zhirinovskiy's assurances of his commitment to "openness and freedom of speech", journalists were barred from the business part of the meeting. They could only listen to a 30-minute speech by the party leader.

Zhirinovskiy said that the parliamentary group will consist of 64 legislators, 59 of whom were elected on the party list and five from one-seat constituencies. According to the LDPR leader, the group consists of representatives from "all professions, trades and social sections".

"The party's position is reconciliation," he said. "The LDPR is ready to cooperate with all but will not join

blocs or agreements with anybody." According to Zhirinovskiy, there are "many good lawmakers" among communists and agrarian deputies, but they are beset with "negative historic past".

As for democratic blocs, Zhirinovskiy said that "there are people who treat us well".

Although the LDPR supports the new constitution in every way, regarding it "good for 90 per cent", the party plans to strive for creating "a strong parliament along with the strong president", the LDPR leader noted.

Zhirinovskiy underlined that the LDPR group will lend strength to parliament.

Liberal Democrats' Tactics in Duma Viewed

LD1001154294 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1444 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] Today, on the eve of the opening of the Russian parliament, we have more than once turned to the vital issue of tactics to be pursued by various factions in their work. You will now learn what tactics the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] faction is going to pursue in the State Duma. Their tactics are described for Mayak by Stanislav Zhebrovskiy, a member of the LDPR Supreme Council, the party's deputy chairman and a deputy in the State Duma. The recording was made on the telephone.

[Begin Zhebrovskiy recording] The Liberal Democratic Party will operate as a separate faction in the State Duma. This is because entering into blocs with someone always means colluding against someone else. The Liberal Democratic Party is going to the Duma not to wage war against someone, but to work in the interests of the state. That is, we stand for doing something in the interests of the state every day, and for agreeing to compromises.

We shall always be a constructive political force. We are in opposition to the present government, but, I repeat, it is constructive opposition. Our stand is: Whoever proposes a sensible law directed at safeguarding Russia's interests, we shall always back this law. This is what we mean when we say we are constructive. [end recording]

Success of Zhirinovskiy Party Viewed

PM0701144594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Jan 94 First Edition pp 1-2

[Vladlen Ginzburg article: "Through the Eyes of a Political Manager. Election Race Intrigue. Important for Victors and Vanquished To Understand Its Implications. Particularly Those for Whom Spring Holds an Election Campaign"]

[Text] The main sensation in the recent elections is deemed to be the success of Zhirinovskiy's party, something that came as a surprise to many people. Lively discussion of the political, social, psychological, and even psychiatric reasons for and possible consequences of the resultant apportionment of votes is continuing. Many articles mention in passing the special features of a particular bloc's propaganda campaign. This is generally said to be a secondary factor with no decisive effect on the election results. That is true to some extent, but nonetheless for the main participants in the election race, had they taken a different approach to the election campaign, the results could have been appreciably different from those we have now.

There is no point in analyzing the features of the election campaign conducted by all 13 movements, parties, and blocs. The overwhelming majority of these campaigns' organizers displayed professional feebleness. The results generally reflect not only the political amorphousness and featurelessness of these formations, but also their leaders' inability to competently plan and organize what Americans call the election race.

The fact that V.V. Zhirinovskiy conducted his campaign the most professionally played an important role in his success.

The leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] had strict targets for his propaganda. He was perfectly well aware on whom he could rely, clearly understood what worries his future voters, and deliberately put forward arguments that were understandable and appealing to the dregs of society [lyumpeny] (with or without a higher education) who form the backbone of his electorate.

Efficient orchestration of the campaign played a considerable role. Each of Vladimir Volfovich's speeches was devoted to a single issue alone. This enabled him to outline in a thorough and at the same time very specific manner ways of resolving all the problems that really worry people.

The choice of topics for the speeches created a certain amount of intrigue and ensured the momentum of the campaign. Anyone who started listening to Zhirinovskiy's passionate monologues could not wait for the followup, particularly when the subject of the next speech was not announced in advance. The propaganda campaign followed a rising curve, and, evidently, all its reserves were not depleted. The LDPR leader, with his inherent modesty, said after the elections that had the campaign lasted another 10 days he would have gotten 70 percent of the vote. Needless to say, that is an exaggeration, but other opportunities for the LDPR to enlarge its electorate did exist. The point is that Zhirinovskiy very skillfully and purposefully drew broader and broader population groups into his orbit. It is not after all only among hoboes that you find people who like simple solutions to complex problems.

All these and many other means of conducting political (primarily election) campaigns are well known to campaign specialists and political managers, of which there are fairly large numbers in countries with a developed

democracy, but which still have virtually no representation in our country taking its first steps down the road to democratization.

Zhirinovskiy's advisers may not be very experienced managers. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the occasions which deflated his campaign. Video clips, inevitably prepared by other people, often strayed from the general strategy, proved protracted, and detracted from the exuberant, energetic rhythm of the campaign. Appearances on air by members of the leader's entourage were even worse—their image was in sharp contrast with that of Zhirinovskiy himself and would have been more suitable for featureless political groups incapable of making any impression on the voters.

Zhirinovskiy's irresponsibility and happy-go-lucky style that were pointed out by all his critics may quite well have been just a skillful election ploy. The nature of the LDPR leader's behavior will almost certainly change after the elections, and the stunned country will see a fairly respectable, restrained legislator who has forgotten most of his fantastic election outbursts and, bit by bit, is assembling the political baggage for his next electoral surge. The voters who have come to love this understandable, accessible politician will willingly forgive him certain departures from election promises in the realization that this is the cost of the struggle and circumstances sometimes make it necessary to switch to gradual actions.

The election campaign of the "Russia's Choice" bloc was conducted at a far lower professional level. One of the main principles necessary for success seems to have been infringed. In planning the bloc's campaign its organizers were unable to work out a fundamental strategy that should have laid down all the tactical methods and been the cornerstone of all campaign events. The bloc's leading politicians made vigorous use of something which was not available to virtually all their adversaries, to wit—their not inconsiderable experience of implementing the reforms and the government's definite achievements. This strong argument could have been the basis of their strategy, but in order for that to be so it should have been exploited consistently throughout the campaign.

Generally speaking the campaign propaganda material was glaringly at variance with this fundamental idea. The exception being only the brilliant monologues by E. Pamfilova, the speeches by A. Chubays at the end of the campaign, and also certain (by no means all!) recordings of Ye. Gaydar's speeches. Viewers were most often shown a lyrical video clip with a cute kid and an appealing hound that had no connection with the presumed strategy. The election campaign lacked purpose, integrity, and a single ideological core. Virtually all the pieces were good in themselves, but put together the entire thing lacked punch. Nor did any of the "Russia's Choice" posters, without exception, in the slightest degree accord with any unified strategic line. Elegant views accompanied by the bloc's emblem were as feeble in backing up its leaders' arguments as pop concerts against the backdrop of the selfsame emblem. The only poster which in some way accorded with the main idea was executed extremely badly. It carried a picture of Ye.T. Gaydar in a somewhat affected pose, and the text could equally have been interpreted both for and against the bloc.

You get the impression that the bloc campaign organizers did not entirely know whom they were addressing. The bloc's staunch supporters and adversaries did not need this kind of campaigning, while for the waverers totally different approaches were needed.

There is reason to think that a considerable proportion of the supporters of democratic reforms, lulled by the cheery forecasts of an inevitable victory for "Russia's Choice," did not turn out to vote. That is the direct result of the campaign organizers' basic incompetence. Any professional manager knows that during the last few days before an election the main effort should be focused on persuading your supporters to turn out without fail.

At some point, roughly a week before the election, the LDPR's growing superiority began to emerge clearly. An emergency adjustment to strategy was needed. One main adversary had emerged from among the 12. Had the main attack been focused in that direction, the gap could have been closed and some of the waverers—those at least who, having voted for Zhirinovskiy, have now been frightened by the results—drawn away from the LDPR. Many people would have changed their decision had everything now being said about Zhirinovskiy been said then in a fairly cogent and serious way—during the last few days before the election. There was no sign of any effort to do this.

The results indicate that inadequate use of the factor of the real fascist danger was also made during the formation of the coalition of democratic forces. For all their uncompromising arrogance, all the democratic blocs are now resolutely dissociating themselves from the LDPR. Consequently, attempts to pool efforts should have been more persistent prior to the election rather than now when little can be changed.

It is easy to work out how many Duma seats the democrats lost owing to their disunity if you examine the election results in single-seat districts. As far as I know, in one of these districts alone—namely Universitetskiy District No. 201—a serious attempt was made to avoid splitting the democrat vote. A primary election procedure was formulated here and coordinated with local democratic organizations, making it possible to select a single candidate from democratic associations and focus all efforts on supporting him. This was the first time such primary elections have been held in Russia. They were a success and attracted a large turnout. An experienced political manager from the United States, who was present during the primary elections as an observer, voiced a high opinion of their procedure and organization. It is deeply regrettable that the republic leaders of

all democratic associations without exception did not back this initiative. The upshot was that candidates from all three democratic blocs vied with one another and an independent candidate, who was seeking election with the help of simple forgery, was close to success. Fortunately everything turned out OK and the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms candidate was elected, but in many districts the fragmented democrats helped their opponents win.

It should be emphasized that under these conditions it was impossible to qualitatively affect the course of the campaign and radically alter the result thereof during the voting on federal lists. Underlying social and political factors played a decisive role, but the quantitative indicators could have been different. After all, we now calculate in hundredths of a percent.

So, what is to be done?

The two years' lifespan allotted for the new parliament is a short period. Serious politicians, above all reformers from "Russia's Choice," must learn from their defeat. As well as carrying out an in-depth analysis of the reasons for this defeat they must immediately start preparing for the next elections.

To this end they must, in particular, begin the immediate professional training of party organizers capable of competently planning and conducting a national or regional campaign. It is also necessary urgently to organize the training of professional political managers capable of conducting local campaigns on the instructions of party organizers or individual candidates, primarily in single-seat districts. Methodological material must be based on two sources: on our already fairly extensive experience and on foreign experience adapted to fit Russian conditions.

No one could have expected our country to move smoothly and triumphally to a democratic way of life. There will be more victories and defeats on this difficult road. We must draw the correct conclusions from the palpable defeat suffered by the reformers 12 December and start working intensively. That is the guarantee of future success!

'Russian All-People's Union' Holds Conference

LD0801134994 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 8 Jan 94

[By correspondent A. Dubnov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today at the eastern district prefecture building in Moscow, a working conference of the leaders of the Russian All-People's Union [RANU] took place.

The conference began with a wave of displeasure in the hall when the chairwoman attempted to address those in attendance as gentlemen. However, this vexing slip of the tongue did not affect the course of the meeting. On the agenda were economic and political issues as well as the RANU's tasks for the next six months.

The greater part of a speech by Nikolay Pavlov, one of the RANU leaders, was devoted to criticizing the president and the government. On the whole, it contained nothing new: the accusation that Yeltsin and the government had organized the putsch, the dissolution of parliament, the slump in manufacturing, corruption and criticism of foreign policy, and of the START II treaty in particular. It was asked why so many people had perished on October 3-4 if the balance of forces in the new parliament will not, in the opinion of RANU members, be in favor of those now in power, in so far as former deputies and opposition members have once again got into the Duma. [sentence as heard]

There was, however, recognition that the RANU is an insufficiently powerful political force and therefore it has been decided to re-register the movement as a party.

Union To Become Political Party

LD0801191994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1903 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—A working conference of the leaders of the Russian All-People's Union (ROS) has taken place in the building of the prefecture of Moscow's eastern district on Saturday.

The ROS is a right-wing organisation with a great power ideology, favouring a highly centralised state and a strong executive branch. It was founded in October 1993.

The speakers admitted, that the ROS is not yet a powerful political force. It did not run with other electoral coalitions in the December 1993 elections. Nonetheless, they adopted a resolution to register the movement as a party.

Rally Remembers October Dead

LD0901171994 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1530 GMT 9 Jan 94

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In Moscow today, approximately 100—mainly elderly—people picketed near the statue of Karl Marx on Teatralnaya Ploshchad in defense of the Lenin Museum and the Mausoleum.

Now for another rally held today:

[Correspondent Nikolay Ivanov] A rally by the so-called Russian All-People's Union was held not far from the White House near the stadium at Krasnaya Presnya. The assembled did not exceed 2,000 in number. Although the rally was devoted officially to the memory of those who died during the defense of the White House in October last year, those gathered and the speakers easily extended

the limits of their speeches. These ranged from expressions of dissatisfaction with the Russian president and Government to displeasure at the forthcoming visit by the U.S. President.

Mikhail Astafyev, the well-known opposition leader, pointed toward the U.S. Embassy, saying that, according to anonymous witnesses, in October the White House defenders were fired at from the buildings of the Embassy. In addition, he called on those assembled to remind people of the Russian All-People's Union through gatherings outside the buildings of the Federation Council and State Duma while they are in session.

The notorious Sazhi Umalatova and Viktor Alksnis also spoke, attempting to draw a parallel between Bloody Sunday, 9 January 1905, and today. Given that the small number of militiamen did not even try to influence those at the rally in any way, this kind of association did not really seem relevant. Donations were collected during the rally to help those wounded during the events at the White House and to help those imprisoned in Lefortovo.

Centrist Bloc Discusses Early Presidential Elections

LD1001141394 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By correspondent T. Orlova; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today in Moscow, representatives of centrist parties discussed the possibility of holding presidential elections in Russia this year.

Taking part in today's open sitting of the Centrist bloc, apart from the hosts, were representatives of 14 parties and associations whose political inclinations and ideologies were in complete contrast, even at first glance. For instance, the Sakharov Union of Democratic Forces—the initiator and creator of the Centrist bloc; the Muzyka publishing house; and arriving slightly late, but accompanied by a whole detachment, leader of the Pamyat National Patriotic Front Dmitriy Vasilyev. Very impressive, don't you think?

It was Mr. Vasilyev who began the discussion on the only issue on today's agenda: The possibility of holding early presidential elections on 12 June this year.

Well, the sitting started very sluggishly, and after numerous appeals by Chairman Vladimir Voronin [head of Sakharov Union of Democratic Forces] to begin discussing this vital political question, which received no response, the distraught chairman had to repeat his opening speech once again to rouse the sleepy participants.

Today's meeting is expected to result in the signing of a joint document on the need for early presidential elections. Many participants already believe that such a decision will be adopted.

Preparations for First State Duma Session Continue

LD0801154094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1435 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—Ad hoc committees and parliamentary groups set up to handle the preparation of the first session of the State Duma, the lower house of Russia's new parliament, continued their work on Saturday.

Most heated debates took place at a meeting of the inter-regional association of independent deputies which was also attended by deputies who represent some Russian constituent republics and autonomous entities. The speakers stressed that independent deputies elected in individual constituencies who are not bound by any pledges to political parties, blocs and movements and who realise their responsibility before their voters, the constitution and Russia believe that "integration and coordination of efforts are necessary for real work of the State Duma."

The participants in the meeting discussed ways to reach the goals set by their joint declaration adopted on January 5. In the declaration they expressed their determination to build their activities in the State Duma on the basis of "parliamentary freedom and responsibility, common sense, political realism, pragmatism, and respect for opinions and positions of other factions and groups." They plan to nominate their own candidate to the post of the chairman of the State Duma as their first step in this direction.

The deputies called on their colleagues elected in individual constituencies to join their efforts for the benefit of all peoples of Russia.

The commission for the procedural regulations of the State Duma and the deputy status discussed key questions the solution of which should ensure the effective work of the parliament.

Yeltsin To Open Parliament

LD0801143194 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1310 GMT 8 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 8 Jan—The opening of the Russian parliament, the Federal Assembly, which is scheduled to take place in three days, may be called the final result of the election marathon of last November and December.

The first sessions of the chambers will be held on 11 January. They will sit separately because the Constitution does not provide for a ceremony of a joint opening session of the two parliamentary chambers. The chambers may sit together to hear messages from the president and the Constitutional Court and speeches of the leaders

of foreign states, as well as on the occasions when the president of the country takes the oath of allegiance. [passage omitted]

In accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the Russian president is to open the first session of the upper chamber of the parliament.

The ITAR-TASS correspondent has learned from well-informed sources in the Kremlin that there are no plans for a "big opening speech" by the president in connection with the beginning of the parliament's work. It will most probably be just a message to the elected deputies, wishing them success.

According to the same source, Boris Yeltsin is planning a long program speech at a joint session of the two parliamentary chambers a little later, shortly after the Federal Assembly begins its work. It has been revealed that economic, political and social aspects of reform in Russia will be touched upon in that speech. At the moment it is still unknown in what form the president is going to convey it to the deputies; that is, whether it will be a message or whether he will deliver the speech in person.

'Brief' Yeltsin Speech Expected

LD0901152694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1428 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—Russia's communists gathered in the Moscow parliamentary centre on Saturday [8 January] to discuss organisational and practical issues connected with the opening of the new parliament, the Federal Assembly.

The participants in the meeting focused on the political situation in the country and tasks of the communist faction in the State Duma, the lower house of the new parliament, the constitutional crisis in Russia, issues concerning the formation of the apparatus of the Federal Assembly and ways to resolve the economic and political crisis on the country, the Federal Assembly press service said.

The meeting was attended by party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov, Valentin Kuptsov, Anatoliy Lukyanov, Vladimir Isakov, Sergey Glazyev, as well as representatives of other parliamentary factions and some independent deputies.

The Federal Assembly will convene for its first session on Tuesday, January 11. Both houses, the State Duma and the Federation Council, will seat separately since the new Constitution does not provide for joint sessions. However, the lower and the upper houses may get together in several cases, including to hear out presidential addresses and messages of the Constitution Court, speeches by leaders of foreign states and witness the inauguration of a new president.

The Federation Council, the upper house, which is comprised of two representatives from each subject of the Federation, is expected to convene at 10:00 in the former house of the press at Pushkinskaya Street, 26.

Simultaneously, the State Duma will gather at Novyy Arbat street, 36, in the former Comecon headquarters. For the first time in the history of Russia, the 450-seat lower house will be represented not only by independent deputies, but also election blocs and parties which have cleared the five per cent threshold as required by the law on elections to the State Duma. The political spectrum is very diverse and represents practically all forces from democrats- reformists from the Russia's Choice election bloc, on the one hand, to the Communist, the Agrarian and the Liberal Democratic parties, on the other hand.

In accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the first session of the upper house will be opened by the president. Well-informed sources in the Kremlin that there will be no "big opening address." Most likely, the president will give a brief speech laying the guidelines for the Council's future work.

The source said that Yeltsin is preparing a big speech which he will deliver at a joint session of the two houses some time after the Federation Council begins working. The speech will touch upon the economic, political and social aspects of reform in Russia. So far it is unclear whether the president will address the parliament personally or send a message.

Communists Propose 16 Bills for New Parliament

LD0901165594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1551 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] The conference of the Communist parliamentary faction has lasted Sunday [9 January] for seven hours. Taking part were 61 deputies, including 50 deputies to the State Duma and 11 deputies to the Federation Council.

Summing up the results of the conference, the chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party Gennadiy Zyuganov has told INTERFAX that the party has prepared 16 bills, first of all, to substitute the "shock therapy" course for what he called a constructive policy, as well as proposals to stabilize the situation and combat crime and corruption. Also prepared are proposals associated a future law on the consequences of the Belovezhskiy agreement.

The Communists also intend to propose to create an independent commission to investigate into the developments in Moscow October 3- 4.

Gennadiy Zyuganov was elected chairman of the faction.

The former Russian people's deputy, Viktor Zorkaltsev was elected Sunday Zyuganov's deputy reponsible for relations with the parties and public movements and other parliamentary factions.

Among the speakers were representatives of other parties, deputy to the State Duma Vladimir Isakov (Russian Agrarian Party) and Sergey Glazyev (Russian Democratic Party).

Isakov has said that the presidential side intends to occupy key posts in the Duma, block activities in it, discredit it and achieve the transfer to the presidential rule.

Isakov has said the presidential side will try to split both Houses of the Federal Assembly, use the contraditions among the factions to achieve its goals.

Agenda Drafted for State Duma's First Session

LD1001131694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1136 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] The organizing committee of State Duma sessions discussed the agenda for the first session of the new Russian parliament. Officials in the president's press service told Interfax that it will start with a speech by the oldest deputy, Georgiy Lukava, of the Liberal Democratic Party.

After that, deputies will hear a report of the Central Election Commission on the elections to the State Duma, elect a commission to supervise the operation of the electronic voting system, as well as elect a counting commission and a provisional secretariat of the State Duma, and discuss the procedural rules on parliamentary groups.

Following that, the organizing committee wants to have a break for the formation of a parliamentary group. The Duma must approve the minimal size of the group to be registered. Figures such as 14, 20, and 50 deputies have been suggested.

Shumeyko Meeting Prepares Agenda

LD1001154994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] The first session of the Federation Council, the upper house of the new Russian parliament, will open at 10:00 on Tuesday [11 January]. It will be held in the former Russian Press House, Ul. Pushkinskaya 26, and is to be addressed by President Boris Yeltsin, a source in the office of First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko told Interfax.

A meeting chaired by Shumeyko on Monday prepared the agenda for the Federation Council's first day, which includes the election of the speaker, his deputies, chairpersons for 10 proposed committees and the senior bodies of the house, as well as voting on session regulations.

Shumeyko is going to run for speaker, the source in his office said.

Federation Council deputies, who asked not to be identified, told Interfax that, in addition to Shumeiko and former chairman of the Moscow City Council Nikolay Gonchar, candidates to the post of speaker might include the chairmen of the parliaments of the Russian republics of Karelia and Komi, Viktor Stepanov and Yuriy Spiridonov. The deputies described the latter two as "independent politicians standing for a single Russian Federation."

The deputies said a motion was expected to be made to elect three deputy speakers, one representing the republics, one the regions, and one the autonomous areas of Russia.

Further on Agenda

LD1001071594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0632 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—A list of materials to be submitted for the consideration of people's deputies at the first meeting of the State Duma was drawn up on Sunday [9 January] at a final session of the organising committee for preparing first meetings of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, ITAR-TASS learned today at the current information centre under the administration of the Russian president.

The suggested materials include the Russian Constitution, a list of the laws of the Russian Federation adopted between May 31, 1990, and September 20, 1993, presidential decrees to be submitted for the consideration of the Federal Assembly, collections of decrees of the Russian president, resolutions of the Council of Ministers—Government of the Russian Federation, as well as draft documents drawn up by the organising committee for preparing first meetings of the State Duma, which are needed for the beginning of the State Duma's work.

A draft procedure for holding the first meeting of the State Duma was approved and submitted to people's deputies. It envisages the opening of the meeting of the State Duma by the oldest people's deputy, a report of the Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation on the results of elections to the State Duma, the election of the commission for control over the electronic system, the election of the counting commission, the election of the provisional secretariat of the State Duma, the adoption of provisions of the regulations of the State Duma on parliamentary factions and groups.

On the suggestion of members of the organising committee, it is planned to make a break for forming parliamentary factions and groups. After the break the State Duma will hear a report of the provisional secretariat of the State Duma on the parliamentary groups created there, as well as suggestions of the groups about a further working schedule of the Duma.

Members of the organising committee got back to discussing individual articles of the draft regulations of the State Duma to be submitted for the consideration of the first meeting. Thus, the proposal was accepted on

granting equal rights to factions and groups. During the exchange of views a discussion began about the minimal strength of the parliamentary group, needed for its official registration. On the suggestion of individual factions, it is planned to submit for the consideration of the Duma the following figures: the minimal strength of the group should be 14, 20 or 50 people's deputies.

The organising committee discussed as well materials of the commission for organising the work of parliamentary factions, the commission for forming State Duma committees and the commission for locating working agencies of the State Duma. It was decided to submit those materials for the consideration of people's deputies.

According to the current information centre, the meeting of the organising committee was held in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere.

Shakhray, Zyuganov on First Tasks of State Duma

LD1001095094

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0311 GMT on 10 January broadcasts a correspondent's report on interviews with members of the new State Duma about what the first day of the parliament's work will bring.

Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA] says: "I believe that the first session will be fairly quiet." He goes on to say: "Various commissions will be set up. One must remember, however, that the new Constitution does not give the control function to parliament. Therefore, commissions will be involved in preparing parliamentary hearings on various issues. This is the parliament's right, and I am sure that there will be many commissions on parliamentary hearings. I believe that the emergence of coalitions in the Duma will depend on the nature of questions at issue. There will be no organized coalitions in the Duma, with a unanimous vote. Is that good or bad?

"Speaking about all of this, I would always urge one to compare the present body of deputies, albeit very imperfect, with the body of deputies of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet of the previous convocation. According to Vitaliy Vorotnikov, formerly chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, democrats had 22 percent of seats in that parliament. Now they have more seats, though less than 50 percent. Therefore, we are moving forward despite everything."

Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist faction, is then asked for his view of the work of the new State Duma. He says: "The coordination is proceeding with difficulty. Burbulis stated recently—it is no secret—that they are not too keen on developing contacts with others, including us, but I believe that they are doomed to seek agreement, unless they plan to give new orders to disband the Duma by force. Not only has their position no future, I believe, but in the context of the recent changes in public opinion and in attitudes to their course, it is also dangerous for everyone. One should understand very well that we all have very little time for all this coordination because there are already mass stoppages of production. At many factories, people will only work 10-12 days at most in January, and will receive a small allowance. By spring, they will have eaten up their supplies, they will have worn out the shoes bought back in the times of developed socialism, and they may then behave in a way totally different from what some of our radicals think."

In conclusion, an independent deputy is then asked for his views. He says that the independents will push the interests of their districts. There are many young people in the Duma who are keen on working but not on squabbles. Viktor Sheynis of the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc says that the Duma will have two main levers affecting the state policy: legislation and the budget.

Chernomyrdin Affirms Adherence to Reforms

LD1001110994 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0520 GMT 10 Jan 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Addressing the group of independent deputies in the new parliament, Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said that the government will never align itself with the extreme right or with the extreme left, but will always stick to its reform policies. He said that the country will no longer be subjected to shock treatment. Inconsistent and impetuous behavior is intolerable, especially where it concerns the economy, he said. At the same time Viktor Chernomyrdin stressed that the government does not intend to use populist methods either.

Independent Lawmakers Nominate Medvedev To Head Duma

LD1001144094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1422 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—Independent lawmakers in the Russian State Duma decided at their Monday conference to nominate Vladimir Medvedev, president of the Russian Union of Oil Manufacturers, for the post of chairman of the Federal Assembly's lower chamber.

Medvedev told ITAR-TASS that if he is elected he will do a "specific practical work, as the task of deputies is to make laws".

Independent deputies comprises 56 people now, and intend to register as a faction at the first session of the Duma.

Registration of Deputies for Upper Chamber Viewed

LD1001150494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1353 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow January 10 ITAR-TASS—Today, on the eve of the first sitting of the Federation Council, the upper chamber of the new Russian parliament, registration began of its deputies arriving in Moscow.

Delegates to the chamber from all component parts of the Federation were elected in two-mandate constituencies formed in all republics, except Chechnya, and every territory, region, and autonomy.

The list of the chamber's members comprise 171 deputies. According to the Russian Constitution, there total number must be 178, but no representatives were elected in Tatarstan and the Chelyabinsk region, where a repeat election is now scheduled. Only one deputy was elected in the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District.

The overwhelming majority of the chamber's members say they are office workers (152). A considerable part of them are officials of regional legislative and executive bodies of power. Eight deputies are entrepreneurs, three are peasants, one is a serviceman, and seven are unemployed, a spokesman for the information department told ITAR-TASS.

All of the deputies, except two, have graduated from institutions of higher learning. They include ten professors, and 19 doctors of sciences (twelve in economics, five in technical sciences and two in philosophy). Only two deputies are under 30 years of age, and seven are older than 65.

Deputies To Demand Report on White House Repair Costs

LD0901145894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1327 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] Representatives of the State Duma's influential factions intend to demand a detailed report on government spending on repairing the White House.

Deputies of a major parliamentary faction told Interfax that the rubles and hard-currency reserved for buying building materials, equipment and furniture had been mishandled.

According to some estimates, spending on the restoration and construction work alone amounts to $75 Mn-$85 Mn. The work is done round the clock by Russia builders and their Turkish colleagues from the companies Enka and Gama.

Minister Sums Up Plans for Parliamentary Center Complex

PM1001102594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 1

[Ruslan Ignatyev report: "Parliamentary Center Will Be Built"]

[Text] Russian Federation Government Chairman Viktor Chernomyrdin signed on 6 January 1994 decree No. 1 "On Constructing a Complex of Buildings for a Parliamentary Center—Official Residence of the Federal Assembly." ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's correspondent asked Russian Federation Minister V. Kvasov, leader of the Russian Government apparatus, to comment on this document.

"This decision was adopted with a view to creating conditions for efficient work by the Federal Assembly's Federation Council and State Duma. Work on constructing the complex of buildings for the new Parliamentary Center will be carried out in 1994-1995. The Moscow Government, jointly with the Russian President's Administration of Affairs, have been instructed to identify within one month a site in central Moscow where the complex will be built. A government commission has been set up for the prompt examination of issues and for coordinating the activity of organizations engaged in building the Parliamentary Center.

"A competition has been announced to decide the best project, open to Russian and foreign firms. The conditions and procedure for conducting it are being elaborated at present. Russia's Ministry of the Economy has been instructed to provide for the appropriation of the necessary limits of state capital investments, including foreign currency funds, for planning and building the complex in 1994-1995.

"It is planned that the complex will be connected to the presidential, government, and special systems of telephone communications and data communications network; it will be fitted with modern technical safety systems, and it is planned to use a system for television surveillance, radiation monitoring, and fire safety.

"The new Parliamentary Center is scheduled for commissioning during the first six months of 1995."

Composition of New Parliament Examined

PM1001151394 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 1

[Dmitriy Orlov article: "Portrait of Duma in Figures"]

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission's lists are short and dry, but they allow us to make several observations on the composition of parliament's lower chamber. The deputy is first and foremost a person with higher education (94.4 percent), male (87.2 percent), and he is often a Muscovite (62.2 percent of the federationwide list). The Duma's oldest member is Georgiy Lukava (born 1925),

head of department at the Moscow State Technical University for Civil Aviation, and the youngest is Aleksey Zuyev (born 1970), an adviser to the president of the "GMM" company (both are members of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR]). The average age of deputies in the Duma is a little over 40. It is noteworthy that although almost equal percentages of deputies have higher education [as published], the figure is lower in the LDPR where it is 89.9 percent (according to the federationwide list).

Some 54 of the 444 deputies elected are functionaries of electoral associations and political organizations which did not participate in the elections for the federationwide district. Party leaders account for 5 percent of the Duma's total membership (22 deputies), and local party functionaries, advisers, and leaders of party apparatuses account for 7.2 percent (32 deputies). Contrary to expectations, representation of trade union activists proved to be low—three deputies or 0.7 percent.

Some 80 of the people's elected representatives are representatives of the executive or representative branches of power, including 25 members of the Russian Federation Government and leaders and workers of the central ministries and departments (5.6 percent) and 49 administration heads, representatives of the president, and other leaders of the executive branch of power in the provinces (11 percent).

Workers in the intellectual sphere (the "educated class") are very well represented with 116 deputies, or 26.1 percent. Frankly, there are few doctors and school teachers and there are not many more higher education teachers among the deputies; however, the numbers of leaders and staff of the new kind of analytical organizations (specialists and the like) is significant. The new parliament will be scarcely more professional than the previous one: It contains only 29 lawyers (6.5 percent), and a significant number of them are concentrated in potentially government-oriented factions. There are 11 journalists in the State Duma (2.3 percent). The number of entrepreneurs and managers of commercial and state enterprises—47 (10.6 percent)—is significant.

Yeltsin Edict on Court of Appeal for Information Disputes

PM1001113994 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 4

[Edict No. 2335 of the president of the Russian Federation, dated Moscow, The Kremlin, 31 December 1993: "On the Court of Appeal for Information Disputes Under the President of the Russian Federation"]

[Text] With a view to guaranteeing the citizens' right to information enshrined in Article 29 of the Russian Federation Constitution, the observance of their legitimate interests in this sphere, and the effective fulfillment by the president of the Russian Federation of the constitutional obligation to act as guarantor of human and civil rights and freedoms, I decree:

1. To recognize the constructive activity of the Information Arbitration Court which was constituted for the duration of the 1993 election campaign, and to rule that its powers have ended 31 December 1993 following the conclusion of the 1993 election campaign.

2. Taking advantage of the Information Arbitration Court's positive experience, to create a permanent Court of Appeal for Information Disputes Under the President of the Russian Federation, bearing in mind that the present Court of Appeal is not part of the system of Russian Federation federal courts.

3. To prescribe that the Court of Appeal's basic functions are:

to assist the president of the Russian Federation in upholding rights and freedoms in the mass information sphere;

to guarantee the objectivity and authenticity of news reporting;

to guarantee the principle of equality in the mass information sphere;

to guarantee the protection of the moral interests of children and adolescents in the mass media;

to guarantee the principle of pluralism in news and sociopolitical radio and television programs;

to resolve disputes about the allocation of radio and television airtime between factions being created in the Federal Assembly;

to correct factual errors in mass media news reports affecting public interests;

to issue warnings to mass media in accordance with Article 16 of the Russian Federation Law "On the Mass Media" in the absence of the Russian Federation Ministry of Press and Information.

4. To appoint Anatoliy Borisovich Vengerov chairman of the Court of Appeal for Information Disputes Under the President of the Russian Federation.

5. To appoint members of the Court of Appeal for Information Disputes Under the President of the Russian Federation (see appendix).

6. The Court of Appeal chairman must submit within three weeks a draft Statute of the Court of Appeal for Information Disputes Under the President of the Russian Federation for ratification according to established procedure.

7. In order to provide backup for the Court of Appeal's activity, to form as its working apparatus a Secretariat of the Court of Appeal for Information Disputes Under the President of the Russian Federation with the status of department within the Russian Federation President's Administration.

The leader of the Russian Federation President's Administration is to approve the structure and numerical strength of the working apparatus.

8. This edict comes into force from the moment of its signing.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, The Kremlin, 31 December 1993

[Appendix] **Composition of the Court of Appeal for Information Disputes Under the President of the Russian Federation**

Anatoliy Borisovich Vengerov, chairman of the Court of Appeal (chairman of the Information Arbitration Court, doctor of juridical sciences, professor)

Igor Yuryevich Yeremin, deputy chairman of the Court of Appeal (member of the Information Arbitration Court)

Igor Vyacheslavovich Ivanov, chief specialist of the Central Electoral Commission Department for Electoral Arbitration and Preparation of Normative Documents

Aleksandr Konstantinovich Kopeyka, member of the Information Arbitration Court

Viktor Nikolayevich Monakhov, member of the Information Arbitration Court, candidate of juridical sciences

Marina Viktorovna Panyarskaya, member of the Information Arbitration Court

Yuriy Vasilyevich Feofanov, chief editor of the journal ZAKON.

Edict on Guaranteeing Rights to Information

PM1001132194 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 4

[Edict No. 2334 of the Russian Federation President "On Additional Guarantees for Citizens' Rights to Information," signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin and dated Moscow, The Kremlin, 31 December 1993]

[Text] Proceeding from the premise that information is one of man's fundamental rights;

endeavoring to broaden real opportunities of citizens and their associations to participate actively in the running of state and public affairs and to assist the development of local self-government;

in order to ensure that citizens freely receive information about the activity of the organs of legislative, executive, and judicial power;

taking as a basis Article 29 Paragraph 4 and Article 80 Paragraph 2 of the Russian Federation Constitution, I decree:

1. The Legislative Proposals Commission under the Russian Federation president is to elaborate a draft Russian Federation Law "On the Right to Information" and present it to the Russian Federation president for submission to the Federal Assembly as a priority legislative initiative.

2. The norms prescribed by this edict are valid until the appropriate federal law has been adopted.

3. The activity of state organs, organizations, and enterprises, public associations, and officials is carried out on the principles of information openness, which is expressed:

in citizens' access to information of public interest or affecting citizens' personal interests;

in citizens' being systematically informed of proposed or adopted decisions;

in the exercise of control by citizens over the activity of state organs, organizations, and enterprises, public associations, and officials and over the decisions being made by them associated with the observance, protection, and defense of citizens' rights and legal interests.

4. It is prescribed that state television and radio broadcasting companies' information programs are to inform citizens without fail of the main provisions of legal acts and the decisions of state organs for main questions of domestic and foreign policy on the day they are broadcast.

5. State television and radio broadcasting companies are to produce cycles of broadcasts (programs) explaining the activity of federal organs of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches and the essence of the decisions being made, with leading specialists, experts, and drafters of the relevant documents being brought in to work on these programs.

It is prescribed that the length and frequency of the broadcasting of the said programs is determined autonomously by the leaders of state television and radio broadcasting companies.

6. State television and radio broadcasting companies' programs are to give equal coverage to the activity of federal organs of legislative, executive, and judicial power.

The Court of Appeal for Information Disputes Under the President of the Russian Federation is to monitor the objectivity of the coverage of such activity.

7. Guided by Article 15 Paragraph 4 of the Russian Federation Constitution, when the mass media are covering the Federal Assembly's activity they are to base themselves on Resolution No. 820 (1984) of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly on relations between states' parliaments and mass media (Collected Acts of the Russian Federation President and Government,

1993, No. 15, Article 1340), and this includes bearing in mind the limited nature of television channels:

as a rule the content of deputies' speeches in debates on draft laws is to be brought to the attention of their voters via printed mass media;

a greater number of articles of an educative nature on parliamentary activity is to be published.

The provisions of Resolution No. 820 (1984) apply to relations between other federal organs of state power and the mass media, and this includes establishing the following principles for making live television and radio transmissions or recorded broadcasts which are the same for all federal organs:

the need for a television or radio broadcasting company to obtain consent to make a transmission from a session of the relevant federal organ of state power;

the timely notification of television and radio broadcasting companies about the proposed consideration of the most important questions of public interest;

a television or radio broadcasting company's choice of time (length) of broadcast and its form (live or recorded).

8. The Russian Federal Service for Television and Radio Broadcasting is to tighten control over television and radio broadcasting organizations' strict observance of the Russian Federation Law "On the Mass Media."

9. This edict comes into force the moment it is signed.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, The Kremlin, 31 December 1993

Government Decree on Science Publicity Issued

PM1001143794 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 4

[Decree No. 1348 of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government "On Measures To Organize Information and Publicity Work in the Sphere of Science and Technology on the Basis of Russian Scientific and Cultural Centers Abroad," dated Moscow, 25 December 1993 and signed by O. Soskovets, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government]

[Text] For the purposes of ensuring the implementation of the Russian Federation president's Edict No. 726 of 21 May 1993 "On Russian Scientific and Cultural Centers Abroad," assisting the development of Russia's scientific and technical cooperation with foreign countries, widely familiarizing the foreign public with the contribution of Russian scientists to world science, shaping the innovative infrastructure of science, and also coordinating cooperation in these spheres between the Russian Agency for International Cooperation and Development and the Russian Federation Ministry of Science and Technical Policy and the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government decrees:

1. The Russian Federation Ministry of Science and Technical Policy, the Russian Agency for International Cooperation and Development, and the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs are to be entrusted with organizing information and publicity work in the sphere of science and technology on the basis of Russian scientific and cultural centers abroad.

2. Within the limits of its competence the Russian Federation Ministry of Science and Technical Policy is to:

draw up targeted programs and define priority areas of information and publicity work in the sphere of science and technology in the interests of developing the Russian Federation's international scientific and technical ties;

draw up and, by agreement with the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Russian Agency for International Cooperation and Development, approve collated plans for information support for Russian scientific and cultural centers abroad;

ensure, jointly with the Russian Agency for International Cooperation and Development, the introduction of automated reference-information systems, including data banks on scientific and technical developments proposed for export, into the work practice of Russian scientific and cultural centers abroad;

send materials on the development of Russian science and technology to Russian scientific and cultural centers abroad;

send scientists and specialists to Russian scientific and cultural centers abroad to participate in the organization of information work in the sphere of science and technology.

3. The Russian Agency for International Cooperation and Development is to ensure the conditions necessary for the organization of information and publicity work in the sphere of science and technology in Russian scientific and cultural centers abroad.

4. The Russian Federation Ministry of Science and Technical Policy is to finance expenditure on the organization of information and publicity work in the sphere of science and technology on the basis of Russian scientific and cultural centers abroad out of the Russian Federation republic budget's funds envisaged for the development of the innovative infrastructure of science, as well as financing international scientific and technical cooperation programs and projects.

[Signed] O. Soskovets, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government
[Dated] Moscow, 25 December 1993

Officials Back Science Ministry Policy, Criticize Academy

LD0901130294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1220 GMT 9 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanova]

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—Directors of nine leading R & D institutions of Russia have addressed President Yeltsin with a letter backing the policy of the Russian Ministry of Science, which gives priority to a competitory way of financing national research and development, in lieu of the centralized and "departmental" way of financing, suggested by Russia's Academy of Sciences.

Among the address' authors were directors of Kurchatov's Institute of Nuclear Physics, Institute of Physics of Russia's Academy of Sciences, Institute of Physical Chemistry, Russian Research Centre of Applied Chemistry and the All-Russian Research Institute of Electric Machinery.

The letter was written in response to a resolution adopted in December 1993 by the presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The resolution said that the modern crisis of "the eldest scientific organization of the country" was largely caused by the lack of budgetary funds "passing through the Ministry of Science."

The presidium of the academy urged to reshuffle the Ministry of Science to the corresponding state committee which would focus solely on federal R & D programs, and not on independent R & D projects. In other case, the academy leaders warned they would submit a resolution of no confidence to Science Minister Boris Saltykov.

However, scientists who addressed Yeltsin wrote that such a policy would even further aggravate the collapse of science in Russia protesting against "the departmental principle of money distribution" as it "will result in equal empoverishment (of all institutions)." On the contrary, it would be better to keep pursuing the ministerial policy aimed at financing priority studies, they concluded.

Coup Plotters' Trial Adjourned Due to Illness

LD1001124594 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By M. Tumanova; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The interminable trial of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] members consists of a multitude of separate sittings, most of which begin and are immediately adjourned.

Like today. It was all over in five minutes. Two of the accused, Lukyanov and Pavlov, were absent. Pavlov is recovering after an operation, while Lukyanov is at home and being attended by doctors.

The court ruled that doctors should provide findings on the health and ability to attend the trial for both men. It was adjourned until 12 January.

Twenty People Arrested in 1993 on Espionage Charges

LD1001132594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1158 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By CRIME-PRESS correspondents Sergey Oleynik and Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—The state security service detected and thwarted last year attempts to recruit several high-ranking officials, about which President Boris Yeltsin was personally notified, Sergey Stepashin, first deputy director of the Federal Counter-Intelligence Service, said at a briefing in the Russian Foreign Ministry on Monday [10 January].

"We are working on all these cases in close contact with head of the president's office Sergey Filatov," Stepashin added. Some people who established contacts with foreign intelligence officers, have been released from their posts.

According to Stepashin, 20 people were arrested on espionage charges in 1993. Several dozen more espionage cases are still under investigation.

Stepashin specially stressed that, apart from countries outside the former Soviet Union, the Baltics and countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States with which Russia has an understanding on refraining from intelligence operations against one another, are actively engaged in intelligence work against Russia.

The deputy director confirmed that Russian security officers arrested last summer five Georgian spies fulfilling intelligence tasks. An Estonian intelligence agent was detained in the Pskov region. Apart from all else, he committed a grave criminal offence—a murder.

Media Issues

First Year of Moscow TV-6 Assessed

PM1001110594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 94 First Edition p 7

[Mariya Varenga article: "First Anniversary of Channel Six"]

[Text] New Year's Day 1994 marked the first anniversary of the first independent Russian channel, TV 6 Moscow, going out on air.

So the fledgling enterprise is alive. When it was still only at the planning stage, people were bewildered by the author and parent of this scheme, Eduard Sagalayev: This popular television journalist had held too high posts in the past for him so easily to launch himself into a fairly risky venture. Nevertheless, in this country it is not

the "nocturnal Zephyr" which floods the airwaves but the Ostankino state television tower's central control room. This is why the freedom to express oneself on television is as yet subject to many conditions here. What is there to say about one private television channel taken in isolation, which is beating the state television network's cunning ruses.

At first the founder of the Moscow Independent Broadcasting Corporation's channel six really did have literally nothing except a license to broadcast—good intentions to begin the unitary television system's destatization. He had neither premises nor funds, but nevertheless persistent rumors about each TV 6 staffer having his own Mercedes were doing the rounds even among experienced television personnel. All the more so as, after all, billionaire Ted Turner, who is famous for his whims and a certain weakness for Russia, became TV 6's patron.

The emergence of the channel was, oh, so complicated. For a whole year representatives of the Moscow Independent Broadcasting Corporation and Turner Broadcasting Systems,zmopping their fevered brows, busted a gut to put together a contract for the joint enterprise: Lawyers in Russia had never before had to work on such a project. They came to an agreement after long discussions: Russian news stories would come together in a sizzling combination with American films on TV 6.

The idea behind Sagalayev's enterprise could not have made better sense: a channel standing outside politics and ideology and enjoying all the advantages of an outsider. "A very opportune idea," a well-known politician, who today would hardly be able to hold his audience's attention, would say about this: The elections proved that the "electorate" no longer excuses poor delivery.

As far as TV 6 is concerned, politics exists only in its strictly private manifestation—in the family setting. Here it is, however, no less controversial and hazardous than intrigues at the highest level. Whereas the other five channels are running discussions on the grave crisis, TV 6 is unabashedly putting out a Fred Astaire tap dancing routine, the breathy tones of Tatyana Doronina, the guilty smile of Leonov, and so on and so forth. Unfortunately, the majority of our cinemas' posters simply cannot compete with TV 6: "Hollywood's Golden Film Library," "Cinema TV 6," "Children's Screening," and starting in the new year "Masterpieces of World Cinema"—where else will you see such a wide range of films?

But channel six had to remember about unity of place and time: The neutral black studio backdrop was no help. The talk show "Eduard Sagalayev Presents..." first of all introduced the viewers to an "apolitical" Federov, then afterwards announced a forthcoming meeting with Sergey Shakhray. It is good that this rendezvous did not take place: Politicians are not protected by the wives they appear alongside on TV 6. The very sad conclusion has inevitably to be drawn: It is impossible to live in our society and be free from.... It is all right to talk about anything else, and he has some highly attractive future proposals.

In January the first editions of the television magazine program for men and women will go out: To the CNN international news will be added thematic news broadcasts from this corporation which are unknown to the Russian viewing public: "Show Business News," "Traveler's Guide," "A Look into the Future," and "Style." An unusual gameshow "Your Decision" is in store for the viewers, which is a series of films, in which the viewers themselves determine the outcome of the action. The first sports broadcasts will appear on TV 6 in 1994: TV 6 will be screening footage of the U.S. open figure skating championships in January.

New Independent TV Channel To Focus on Entertainment

LD0701165194

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0939 GMT on 7 January carries an interview with Sergey Aleksandrovich Zverev, deputy director general of the MOST group, one of founders of the new Independent Television service, Nezavisimoye Televideniye, NTV, by correspondent Boris Simonov.

Introducing the interview, the announcer notes that a Russian government decision to set up NTV on the 4th channel has been in effect since the beginning of the year.

Zverev says: "NTV will start to go out on the 4th TV channel round about mid-January, from 1800," adding that on weekdays services will run until about midnight, and maybe later on Friday and Saturday.

On programming, Zverev says: "To start with, there will be a cartoon for the children—various cartoons, both home-produced and foreign. At 1830, a documentary TV serial will be shown. That will begin with the TV series 'The Most Notorious Crimes,' which are documentary films about the most notorious courtroom trials of the 20th Century. After that, at 1900 and at 2200, there will be the daily editions of the 'Today' news program, after which there will be a feature film." Zverev goes on to mention some of the feature films to be shown - all detective stories.

Asked why he is going into television, Zverev replies: "From a certain point onward, it's quite a profitable investment of money, a profitable business. Admittedly, that time doesn't come until about 10 years after work has started. But it's also quite a profitable investment of money from the point of view of our slight contribution to the stabilization of our society." He adds: "After all, we're all tired of the joyless TV screen that awaits us every evening at home. There is no happy program that one could watch every evening. And when people came along, saying that they knew how to do it, they had the ability to do it, the banks that are taking part in the financing simply took their word for it and dealt only

with the finance. All the ideology and the content aspect of the channel is a matter for the professionals who are dealing with it today."

Asked to expand on the financing, Zverev said: "We have an agreement on the financing of NTV. There is the National Credit Bank and the MOST group in the capital. All these financial groups are the founders of NTV. I would like to stress once again that we conduct all discussions, all decisions and the financing of all projects on a completely equal basis."

Yeltsin Edict on State TV, Radio Companies

PM1001114394 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 4

[Russian Federation president's Edict No. 2206 "On Urgent Measures to Support State Television and Radio Broadcasting"]

[Text] With a view to creating additional guarantees for the activity of state television and radio companies and providing the RUssian Federation population with uninterrupted, prompt, and comprehensive information, and in accordance with points 2 and 3 of the Russian Federation president's 7 October 1993 edict no. 1598 "on legal regulation in the period of the stage-by-stage constitutional reform in the Russian Federation," I decree:

1. That it be stipulated that state communications enterprises ensuring the dissemination of television and radio programs render the state television and radio companies, including regional ones (hereinafter referred to as state television and radio companies) all types of services at regulated state prices and tariffs within the limits of the volume of broadcasting financed from the Russian Federation republican budget.

2. That the Russian Federation Ministry of Finances earmark the necessary funds for state television and radio companies in 1993 for extinguishing debts for the hire of international communications channels and radio retransmitters.

3. That the Russian Federation Government currency and economic commission examine within a month, within the established procedure, the question of releasing as of 1 January 1994 state television and radio companies and state communications enterprises ensuring the dissemination of their programs from the compulsory sale of part of their currency profit on the internal currency market on condition that the currency funds thus released are channeled into the consolidation of their material and technical base and it must make the relevant proposals to the Russian Federation president.

4. That in 1994 television and radio broadcasting equipment (photographic, studio, radio, broadcasting equipment, and video recording and computer graphics equipment and spare parts for this equipment and expendable materials) acquired using Russian Federation republic budget funds or using the funds of state television and radio companies and state communications enterprises disseminating their programs and imported onto the customs territory of the Russian Federation by these television and radio companies and communications enterprises be exempted from value added tax and the imposition of customs duty.

That it be stipulated that the technical facilities acquired on preferential terms cannot be transferred to other organizations before the expiry of their normative periods of operation.

5. That the operation of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet 19 May 1993 decree "on measures to improve settlements for communications services" be suspended as of 1 January 1994 with respect to state television and radio companies until the adoption of the relevant decision by the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

6. That the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government elaborate within three months and submit within the established procedure for the examination of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly a draft federal program for the development of state television and radio broadcasting.

7. That the state television and radio companies submit to the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government within a month proposals for the possible reduction of volumes of television and radio broadcasting.

8. That this edict be submitted for the examination of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

9. That this edict enters into force from the moment it is published.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, Kremlin, 18 December 1993

Commentary Views Situation in Mass Media

PM1001104194 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 10 Jan 94 pp 1-2

[Nikita Vaynonen commentary: "Will Things Be Any Easier for the Reader? The President Is Concerned About the Right to Information, the Premier About the Newspapers' Survival"]

[Text] The start of the year has been marked by two events for the mass media. The strike by leading Russian newspapers seems to have been averted. Journalists had been about to venture upon this as a forced measure to protest against the increased cost of printing brought about by the revaluation of industry's fixed capital. Presidential edicts have been issued "On Additional Guarantees of the Right of Citizens to Information" and "On the Judicial Chamber for Information Disputes Under the Russian Federation President.".

It is impossible not to perceive a certain logic in the fact that these events coincided. Albeit a paradoxical logic. It is difficult to make any objection to the revaluation of fixed capital. It has been brought about by the objective need to bring its value into line with the ruble's desiccated weight category. There has long been talk of this, so the government's decision just cannot be called unexpected. There was more than enough time to reflect on all its consequences. It was not hard to foresee that the revaluation of fixed capital would prove ruinous to those production processes whose output is paid for by the consumer a long time in advance—subscriptions to newspapers and journals represent just such a form of payment. Consequently, if we do not wish to be deprived of the press, we must be forearmed: We must provide for tax breaks for periodicals and subsidies for subscribers, allocating for the purpose some portion (not even a very considerable portion!) of the increase that the treasury will receive as a result of the growth in the capital's value and, thus, the tax on that value. Nothing of the kind was done, and things turned out once again as in the proverb: The peasant only bothers to make the sign of the cross when he hears thunder. It seemed that a compromise solution had been found at last Thursday's meeting between the chief editors of leading newspapers and Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin. A promise was made to think about how to ease the tax burden for the press, about the participation of journalists in the flotation of shares in printing plants, and about other demands made. In the television report on the meeting certain editors were even heard to say that this was almost the start of a new epoch in relations between the press and the power. But such optimism seems somewhat premature.

It probably goes without saying that in planning to strike, journalists were thinking above all not of themselves but of the readers—of the very right of citizens to information which is the subject of the presidential edict. If the powers that be strengthen juridical guarantees of that right with one hand while undermining economic guarantees with the other, this clearly attests to a lack of coordination in their actions. The path of free speech is of itself thorny and steep, but must each step along it really demand that press people have to resort to extreme measures and superhuman effort? The ink had not had time to dry on the president's signature on the Edict on Information Guarantees before journalists started saying that the edict was unlikely to work. Quite frankly, there are serious grounds for this skepticism.

The legal norms proclaimed in the edict conform to the most modern world standards. State organs, organizations, enterprises, public associations, and officials must conduct their activity on the principles of information openness. As the edict explains, this means that any information which is of public interest or which affects citizens' personal interests must be accessible to them. The state is obliged systematically to inform you and me about decisions proposed or adopted, and we have the right to monitor these decisions if, as the edict states, they entail "compliance with or protection and defense of citizens' rights and legitimate interests."

In order for even the very best legal norm to be implemented, a mechanism is needed for its execution, but the edict does not contain this. Let us hope that it will appear in the law on the right to information, which the same edict entrusts the Legislative Proposals Commission with drawing up. While this law is being created, there is a perfectly real danger that the edict could be utilized by no means beneficially. Who will decide which information "is of public interest" and consequently must be generally accessible? Who is authorized to indicate which decisions entail "compliance with citizens' rights and legitimate interests" and which do not? Without a clear-cut legal answer to these questions, such powers will undoubtedly be appropriated by a state official, i.e. by the person who possesses the information. Having appropriated them, he will use them in his own interests. You and I will never learn what he categorizes as being of no public significance....

It seems to me that the existing Law on the Mass Media contains a far more sensible legal norm (Article 40): "It is possible to withhold requested information only if it contains information which constitutes a state, commercial, or other secret specially protected by law." The Law on the Mass Media also provides for a mechanism for exercising the right to information and penalties for an unsubstantiated refusal to provide it (Articles 38-41, 47, 58, 61). I believe that references to these legal norms in the presidential edict would have sufficed to remove all questions. It is hard to understand why the drafters of such an important document did not do this.

On the other hand, the Edict on Information Guarantees rectifies the mistake made at the time of the election campaign or, to be exact, long before it: Owing to the paucity of information, chiefly television information, society had a very poor and largely a distorted idea of the government's policy, and in the runup to the election this idea was still further distorted by the false populist propaganda of overt and covert antireformers. The edict obliges the state television and radio companies to notify citizens of all legal acts and decisions of state organs on the day they are issued and to create programs which explain the activities of the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary.

To monitor the objectivity of the coverage of these activities, the other presidential edict sets up the Judicial Chamber for Information Disputes. I would like to be able to welcome it, like the first edict, unreservedly. The chamber is to help the president of Russia in protecting rights and freedoms in the sphere of mass information, ensure the objective and reliable nature of reports and the principle of equality in this sphere, protect the moral interests of children and young people, observe pluralism of opinions, and even correct factual mistakes in information reports, but here too there are questions. The Judicial Chamber is entrusted, inter alia, with resolving disputes among parliamentary factions over

the distribution of airtime and issuing warnings to editorial boards which abuse freedom of speech. This requires direct powers. Although the edict states that the Judicial Chamber "is not part of the system of Russian Federation federal courts," if you proceed from the essence of the assignments given it, it will possess not only judicial but also administrative power, and also, partly, legislative power, it seems, since it just cannot manage without drawing up corresponding legal regulations in order to carry out its functions (for example, to distribute airtime, ensure equal rights, and resolve disputes). Will it not turn into something like the notorious oversight council, of which the former Supreme Soviet used to dream so, only this time under the Russian Federation president? The boards of guardians which exist in many countries, representing the interests of society in television, operate by force of authority, not imperious command, but the chamber is not free of the risk of turning into an administrative organ with a censorial bent. Firm guarantees are needed against such a metamorphosis.

Military Issues

Defense Minister on Discipline in Armed Forces

LD0701222694 Moscow Radio Moscow in Russian to Tajikistan 1700 GMT 7 Jan 94

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Excerpts] You are listening to Slavyanka, the radio station of Russia's Ministry of Defense, and now—and what could be more natural—here is Russia's Defense Minister, Army General Pavel Grachev. The recording was made at the very end of the outgoing year when he was rounding up its results, and these results, I must say, were extensive and varied, and out of all that variety, we have selected the things that concern everyone directly: housing, conditions of service—but each of you can add to the list yourself. Listen on. [passage omitted]

[Begin Grachev recording] [passage omitted] Regarding military discipline: the results of 1993 show that, unfortunately, due to serious failings in the work of staff commanders and educational organs at all levels, and also through lack of personal discipline, people continue to die, weapons, ammunition, and military property are misappropriated, and cases of absence without leave continue to occur.

The Ministry of Defense is making every effort to solve these problems. To illustrate this, we managed this year to slightly reduce the gravity of problems linked to losses and misappropriations of weapons and ammunition. In comparison with the identical period last year, the quantity of misappropriated weapons fell by a factor of more than 17. In comparison with 1992, the number of dead was almost halved.

An order of the Ministry of Defense on measures for maintaining law and order and military discipline in the Russian Armed Forces has been worked out and dispatched to the troops with the aim of improving discipline in the forces.

We believe that its execution will enable the state of affairs in this area to be improved significantly in 1994. [end recording]

Defense Ministry Ceases Funding Military Courts

PM1001135994 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 1

[Russian Federation Defense Ministry Press and Information Directorate announcement: "In Strict Accordance With the Law"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Defense Ministry has ceased funding the activity of Russia's military courts as of 1 January 1994.

This decision fully conforms with the Russian Federation Law "On the Status of Courts in the Russian Federation," regulating both the status of courts under general jurisdiction and military courts. The law, in particular, envisages that the Russian Federation Ministry of Justice takes steps to create the conditions needed for judicial activity and its cadre, organizational, and resources support.

A 4 November 1993 decree of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government ratified the statute on the Russian Federation Ministry of Justice. This document also confirms that military courts are part of the unified system of the Russian Federation Ministry of Justice. One of the tasks assigned to the said ministry, according to the statute, is to fund the appropriate courts.

The said draft legislative acts were formulated directly by organs of justice and were not coordinated in any way with the Russian Defense Ministry.

[Signed] The Russian Federation Defense Ministry Information and Press Directorate

Pacific Fleet Council Summarizes 1993 Combat Training

OW0601153294 Vladivostok Radio Vladivostok Network in Russian 0320 GMT 23 Dec 93

[From the "Lunch Hour Break" program]

[Text] The military council of the Pacific Fleet discussed the results of fleet combat training. It was noted that despite the economic difficulties and insufficient financing of vessel repair, Pacific Fleet sailors accomplished their tasks successfully, with 95 percent of the combat training plan fulfilled. More than 30 various exercises were carried out during 1993; during several

combined sea cruises, several hundred combat drills were carried out, most of which were evaluated as excellent and good.

Military Doctrine Politically 'Dubious'

PM0701150194 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Jan 94 pp 1, 4

[Article by Russian Federation Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary Gennadiy Zyuganov: "On the Military Doctrine. The Contours of Russia's Strength"]

[Text] The many centuries of Russian history teem with military upheavals—attacks, aggression, and intervention. There have often been people around who wanted to test the strength of our statehood to "breaking point." The country's fate has often hung by a thread—and only the Army's military might and the mass heroism of the people saved our dying country. In this respect the special, close attention and impassioned and burning interest which Russian society has always shown for issues of military policy and the country's defense doctrine are understandable. The recent collapse of the seemingly immovable foundations of life and philosophy, accompanied by the major shifts in the international military-strategic sphere, has exacerbated these problems still further. That is why the impatience with which the emergence of the new Russia's military doctrine—promised by the president more than a year ago—is entirely understandable.

The "Main Provisions of Russian Federation Military Doctrine" examined at the Security Council's 3 March and 6 October 1993 sessions and introduced by Presidential Edict No. 1833 of 2 November have finally appeared in the press.

Quite frankly, when you read certain parts of the document you may doubt that it is talking about the armed forces of an independent and sovereign state—the service of some abstract "world community efforts" and "different collective security organs" is imposed so blatantly. The following provisions are quite simply discouraging: "in order to safeguard military security the state resolves the following tasks: ...providing backup for operations by the UN Security Council and other international organizations." Will our state henceforth really be just an organ to serve Security Council operations; will UN interests really take precedence over our own national interests?

On reading the document it is alarming to learn that the Armed Forces are given the role of guaranteeing so-called "democratic transformations"—in other words, the Army is called upon to use its bayonets to maintain a regime pursuing an antinational, antistate policy and, consequently, to wage war against its own country's citizens. The Army does not have such functions in any state other than a dictatorship.

This cannot be acceptable for Russia—not only because of its historical traditions, but also because of the people-based [narodnyy] nature of the Army. Despite all the political upheavals in the USSR and Russia, despite all the gibes and mockery, the Army has accomplished the impossible—it has remained intact following the collapse of the Union, when it found itself in the situation of being an "army without a state."

This is all the more impressive given that this mortal blow was followed by a campaign to divide up the living Army between the newly "sovereign" republics, to extort new oaths, and to bribe and blackmail the officer corps. The Army's position among the people has remained firm, despite the fact that certain crack teams of elite forces riddled the country's top state organ with bullets before the very eyes of a stunned world. The scorn and hatred of their fellow soldiers are the everlasting companions of these splittists. The Russian Army saved itself thanks to the powerful patriotic instinct of our officers and men, and to the fact that the backbone of the command staff is made up of Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Tatars—the peoples who laid the foundations of our great state.

This also applies in full to the millions-strong army of scientists, managers, engineers, and workers in the military-industrial complex who never cease to astonish the world by producing the most modern equipment and armaments in a country where everything has seemingly collapsed for good.

Conceptually a military doctrine, by definition, represents the socially accepted totality of the state's views on the goals and nature of a possible war, of the preparations for it by the country and the Armed Forces, and of ways of waging that war. It should define the enemy or enemies with which military confrontation is possible, what might be the aims and nature of such a war or wars, what armed forces the state requires to conduct hostilities successfully, and what are the main areas for their organizational development and the procedure for preparing the country for different military conflicts.

In general terms a state's military doctrine is based on interrelated military-political, military-strategic, and military-technical foundations. A detailed elaboration of military doctrine as a guide to action for the various state structures, ministries, and departments responsible for the country's protection "by force" presupposes an extensive description of the practical organizational, legal, financial, and other mechanisms which guarantee the effective transformation of the state's military potential into specific factors of its Armed Forces' combat might. At the same time, its fundamental political section—compact and clear-cut—can be briefly set out in the form of a number of theses.

I do not plan to assess the published document from a purely military or military-technical standpoint. To certain specialists it seems quite constructive and in line with the realities of our difficult transitional period. But

when it comes to its political tenets it looks—sadly!—more than dubious in respect of a whole series of positions that are of fundamental importance for Russian security.

The tumultuous events of recent years have fundamentally altered the geopolitical situation in every aspect—from the ideological to the economic and the religious. These changes could not fail to affect the military-political sphere, the situation in which can now be described in terms of the following highly important factors:

1. The collapse of the USSR. The disappearance from the geopolitical arena of such a powerful military-political entity has led to a major deformation of the "force field" of all world politics. The global balance of power established in the world as a result of World War II and for which mankind paid with tens of millions of lives has been irreversibly destroyed. The bipolar world system based on the strategic priority of two equally great "power centers"—the USSR and the United States—has become a thing of the past.

2. The abolition of the Warsaw Pact. This military bloc—the counterweight to NATO in Europe—served to maintain the military balance of power on which world stability has been based for the past 40 years. Its collapse is the second factor, following the collapse of the USSR, that marks a fundamental change in the military-strategic situation in the world.

3. The qualitative increase in U.S. geopolitical positions. As a result of the disappearance of the Soviet "power center," the United States has to all intents and purposes managed to carry out a fundamental revision of the results of World War II in its favor, to use its influence to fill the military-political "vacuums" that have emerged in the world, and to adopt in the international community the role of undoubted global leader in terms of all the most important power parameters.

In abstract terms our national interests in the immediate future would be best served by well-intentioned partnership relations with America in all spheres—**including the military sphere**—provided that the relationship is one of equal rights and mutual advantage. That is beyond dispute. What is at issue is the question of how realistic it is to try to ensure the long-term stability of these relations without sacrificing Russia's state priorities. Thus, while making the utmost effort to develop Russo-U.S. cooperation in the political and economic spheres, we simply **do not have the right to forget that our military might, which ensures the proper respect and attention of our partner, will in this case be a very constructive factor in such bilateral relations.**

It would also be irresponsible to forget that, since World War II, every U.S. military doctrine—whether the strategy of "massive retaliation," "realistic deterrence," or "flexible response"—has been subordinate to the idea of global hegemony. Even back in 1945 President Truman stressed in a message to Congress that the victory in the war had left the American people "confronting an urgent and permanent need to assume world leadership."

In January 1993 the U.S. defense secretary submitted to Congress a document entitled "U.S. Defense Strategy for the Nineties: The Regional Dimension." This document recognizes "maintaining a high level of armed forces' combat readiness" and a deterrence potential across the range of possible conflicts as being "extremely important to maintaining the U.S. leading role, with which it can shape the future." Given the overall trend for a shift in emphasis in armed forces' organizational development away from confrontation with the USSR (now Russia) toward "countering regional threats," the "Defense Strategy" recognizes that "deterring nuclear attack should remain the top priority."

Under these conditions it is necessary for the Russian military doctrine to envisage symmetrical combat capabilities for our Army.

4. The strengthening of the NATO bloc and its new quality. The evident desire of a number of Central and East European countries to join NATO, the lack of any realistic counterweight to its military might in Europe following the Soviet troop withdrawal from Germany and Poland, and the attempts to expand the bloc's sphere of responsibility and win a UN mandate for "peacekeeping operations" in "hot spots" in Europe and even the CIS all demonstrate that NATO aspires to the role of military-political referee in the vast geopolitical area stretching from Greenland to the Persian Gulf.

5. The emergence of a European geopolitical center. Following the end of the Cold War, the importance of the United States as guarantor of European security is to a considerable extent being lost, which makes it possible to predict the galvanization of an independent "Eurocentric" policy within the EC.

In its many centuries of confrontation with Russia, Europe—particularly West Europe—has always seen itself as an integrated whole. The trend toward integration among the European states, should it result in the creation of a viable and lasting union with a unified military-political structure, could in the future substantially influence the geopolitical force picture by forming a new, European "power center" that would be fully competitive with America and Russia.

For Russia this means that it is necessary to safeguard the security of its European borders in light of the fact that these will be borders with a united Europe. "The border between Europe and Russia is an obligatory measure in order to avert the possible emergence in Russia of a temptation to move against the West," [prodvinutsya na zapad], Guy Sorman, the well-known French political scientist and economist, believes, expressing a view that is widespread among the European political elite. The active attempts by certain NATO and EC forces to integrate Central European

countries—Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and so forth—into their structures should also be seen as part of this concept.

"A strong and independent Europe should be created not against Russia but without Russia"—that assertion of Sorman's could reasonably claim to be the **fundamental slogan of European policy in the foreseeable future.** It is no accident that the talk of a "united European home" and a "Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals"—which Western leaders used to love using with Gorbachev—came to nothing so quickly.

Even the remaining supporters of a "big Europe" involving Russia see such a geopolitical combination merely as a means of restraining the Russian giant's development. "Russia will become a fully healthy and viable great power 40 years late," Doctor Herbert Kraus, the Austrian political scientist and analyst, warns. "It is inevitable that it will rival and be predisposed to conflict with the EC.... If we want to save the next generation from this, we must start acting today. Right now we can peacefully defeat Russia, which is the key to the entire surrounding area.... We who are facing recession will obtain highly valuable technical material and a ready sales market!"

This group of factors, linked to the Soviet Union's loss of the Cold War and to the considerable shift in the geopolitical balance in the West's favor, could be termed a group of "purposeful changes," since it is the result of a deliberate policy pursued by the "developed countries" throughout the postwar era. This policy, in turn, undoubtedly has its historical roots in the West's centuries-old military, economic, and ideological practice of "containing the Russian threat." This traditionally meant that the Russian state should follow their national interests.

It would be logical and entirely justifiable today if the new Russian military doctrine stipulated that its Armed Forces had the capability to counter new military threats on the continent....

The "purposeful change" factors by no means exhaust the results of the global changes of recent years. The most powerful "side effect" of the weakening of the historical Russian "power center" has been the controlled growth in regional threats, which are now casting doubt on the ability of the Cold War "winners" to respond appropriately, and are threatening to nullify all the strategic advantages won by the West during the Soviet "perestroyka" era.

Quite recently U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin admitted at a press conference that the end of the Cold War, contrary to expectations, had made the world even more vulnerable than before. "The old Soviet threat, although very dangerous, made for a certain degree of comfort," he stated. "The old principles worked very well...." But these principles do not work under the new conditions of universal regional instability, and the Pentagon has been forced to urgently revise the concept for the use of its strategic nuclear forces, since under the new conditions this concept has become virtually meaningless." [no opening quotation marks as published]

"We are all facing one common problem today—growing global discord," Zbigniew Brzezinski, the former U.S. national security adviser, warns. The latest book by this analyst who is influential in world circles is entitled "Out of Control. Global Turmoil on the Eve of the 21st Century." It is imbued with a sense of acute alarm about the avalanche of uncontrollable changes that are occurring.

And the geopolitical bloc which we are accustomed to calling the "West," which seemed monolithic during the period of tough anti-Soviet confrontation, is starting to display internal cracks. The many centuries of infighting among the European powers, which ended in the 20th century in two terrible world wars, did not disappear in the face of the "Soviet threat" but merely took a back seat. Today, on the eve of a major new rearrangement of spheres of influence, this infighting is again making itself felt—and so actively that it is calling into question the effectiveness of the mechanisms to create a "united Europe."

Moreover, many analysts specializing in elaborating predictions about the changes in the geopolitical sphere are pointing to the fact that by the end of the century there will be an exacerbation of the United States' relations not only with China and India but with its current allies—Germany and Japan. Their claims are based on the fact that the U.S. economy will continue to be uncompetitive against the German and Japanese economies not only in the European and Asian markets but in the traditional American market too. The United States will have no way to resolve this conflict other than by political and military means. And the possibility of Russia's being involved—on the American side, of course—in "pacifying the recalcitrants" cannot be ruled out.

In a recent interview Margaret Thatcher expressed the conviction that the Maastricht Treaty would "inevitably lead to the establishment of German domination of Europe." According to the "Iron Lady," this frightens her a lot, because she believes that Germany has never abandoned the idea of achieving world domination and that "the Germans are very stubborn people who ultimately always get what they want." The united German colossus alarms French politicians just as much, although they try not to advertise the fact.

A major factor in any possible global destabilization remains Islamic fundamentalism, which is rooted, apart from the religious sphere, in the Muslim peoples' natural indignation at interference by the "developed countries"—above all, the United States—in their internal affairs. There is a growing environmental crisis, and world conflict is increasing after "simmering" for many years between the rich, prosperous North and the hungry, poor, debt-laden South.

Thus, along with the controllable factors of "purposeful change," the geopolitical and military-strategic sphere is being influenced increasingly strongly by the virtually uncontrolled group of "risk factors," which are a consequence of the overall destabilization of the international situation and constitute a major obstacle to a predictable, evolutionary development of events. The struggle between these two trends will, clearly, continue to determine the direction of world politics in the next few years.

There is only one force in the modern world capable of decisively influencing this struggle. In the military-political sphere it is implemented through a range of measures aimed at universally establishing a "new world order." And its basic structures are international, supranational, and suprastate organizations—first and foremost, the United Nations with all its subsidiary and ancillary institutions.

The ultimate aim of the cosmopolitan elite comprising the organizational nucleus of the "new world order" is to create a unified global network of planetary control—a kind of world superstate run from a united center and enjoying legal priority over "local" legislation.

The world's press is actively discussing the question of the "legitimate basis for intervention." All this makes it possible to assume that the trend toward the forcible limitation of the state sovereignty of "disobedient" countries will be developed and honed in the very near future.

Moreover, it is necessary to clearly understand that the "developed countries" today see the "new world order" primarily as a way to reinforce their leading position in the international community. Nonetheless, it is obvious that at some point the processes of global political integration will conflict with the interests of the national state elites in these very countries—the United States, Germany, or Japan. If the world's behind the scenes powers directing the integration processes succeed in overcoming this conflict, their entire might will be thrown into controlling further "purposeful changes" in the geopolitical and military-strategic spheres in the context of the "new world order." But if they fail, it is quite possible that the world's elites will use all their influence to expedite the strengthening of "risk factors" with a view to "detonating" the situation, exploiting the results of the general turmoil, and achieving at a time of global crisis what had proved impossible under an evolutionary development of events.

On the basis of all this it seems logical and justifiable that the political foundations of Russia's defense doctrine should be laid down, taking account above all of the following provisions:

The qualitatively different geopolitical and military-strategic situation requires a radical and comprehensive reevaluation of the military doctrine of the "Soviet period," which was based on the bipolar system of a world balance of power. The abandonment of the excessive geopolitical ambitions which exhausted the country's economy and were often dictated not by its national, state, or historical interests but by ideological claims to the rapid "victory of world socialism," presupposes the active reorientation of the Armed Forces to the priority of confronting regional threats to our security. Provided, of course, that we unconditionally maintain our strategic military potential at a level where it can guarantee to inflict "unacceptable damage" on any potential aggressor.

At the same time, the historical continuity of our "patriotic defense mentality" in all its spheres—from military-political theory to military-strategic practice—should also be ensured. In reality this means recognizing that Russia's security could continue to be safeguarded only in the event of its Armed Forces' being ready to independently and effectively counter the full range of potential force threats—from the global to the regional, local, and even internal.

2. [no number 1 as published] The prospects for military organizational development should take proper account of the alarming trends in international politics. Analysis shows that in the foreseeable future the military-political situation in the world will be defined by collaboration and confrontation between the three such trends which we previously dubbed "factors of purposeful change," "risk factors," and "new world order factors." Not one of these trends is favorable for Russia, coincides with its long-term economic, political, or military interests, or promises us anything new in the future other than more unrest, worry, and diverse threats. And a readiness to use force to counter such threats, along with a vigorous peacekeeping policy to avert them, seems to be the most effective combination of the various means of safeguarding Russian security.

3. The Russian military strategy that has been adopted in the light of present-day conditions can be characterized on the whole as a strategy of "defense sufficiency" founded on the political basis of "healthy national pragmatism." This means that:

a) The immediate period of Russian development should be seen primarily as a period of stabilization during which it will be necessary above all to minimize the damage done to the country by the ill-conceived and undistinguished actions of politicians over the past few years; mechanisms for mobilizing all of society's potential with a view to getting the country out of its profound systemic crisis as quickly as possible will have to be elaborated; priority attention to the internal problems of social revival and national regeneration will have to be guaranteed; any kind of external state activeness will have to be reduced to a necessary minimum to rule out the possibility of Russia's getting dragged into the activities of any supranational international organizations whatsoever which claim a right to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states; and the military activeness of the country's Armed Forces will have to be

very strictly limited to the framework of Russia's national interests, for the purposes of whose protection they should have the necessary technical, organizational, and legal base.

b) The material and personnel resources channeled into defense should be determined on the basis that the most important task in this sphere is to prevent any further deterioration in Russia's military-political and military-strategic positions in the world arena. The events of recent years have revealed that we lack reliable military allies, therefore the priority avenue of military organizational development should be to safeguard the country's security against both direct military aggression against it and regional threats associated with local areas of military-political instability escalating into the threat of a comprehensive geopolitical crisis ("global turmoil").

4. Along with the concepts of "healthy national pragmatism" and "defense sufficiency" the key terms in the Russian military doctrine, defining its practical features, could now be the concepts of "vital interests" and "potential enemy." It would be expedient to introduce the latter term in place of the term "probable enemy," which was discredited during the Cold War. If the term "probable enemy" is taken to mean states or alliances of states that were viewed as hostile in the unjustifiably ideologized system of references that prevailed earlier, then the concept of a "potential enemy" could be stripped of its "state affiliations" and acquire a concrete meaning independent of ideological predilections—exclusively in conjunction with detailed and justifiable military-political forecasts.

The existence of potential military threats in the modern world is obvious and generally accepted. Consequently, the introduction of the proposed term should not unjustifiably concern anyone since it does not affect the overall defensive nature of our military doctrine. At the same time, it makes the processes of shaping specific aspects of the state's military policy and the day-to-day combat training of Russia's Armed Forces substantially easier.

In turn, the concept of "vital interests" makes it possible to render the military organizational development process clear and purposeful wherever its requirements cannot be adequately reflected with the help of the simple "potential enemy" definition. These interests—understood to be Russia's legitimate right to stake a claim to a geopolitical or regional balance of power which would safeguard its security and territorial integrity—can exist in areas where a "potential enemy" is simply absent. They may also be made the basis of our military policy in areas where friendly relations with local states, mutual loyalty, or other factors rule out the possibility of any other view being taken of the situation and require a flexible approach to the safeguarding of Russian security....

It would be naive to believe that this brief review could cover all of today's military-political problems. Moreover, Russia's current position is so vague and complex, so unstable and changeable, that any claims that the highly important provisions determining the country's military security which we have tried to formulate here are final would look very dubious. Nonetheless, it is necessary to define right now the future basis for our defense doctrine, to outline its specific forms, and to map out the general direction of its evolution.

It is the specialists' job to elaborate the military-strategic and military-technical aspects of military doctrine, it is the politicians' duty to elaborate the military-political provisions.

But we must not refrain from emphasizing that the Russian Army's future lies solely in its link with the people [v yeye narodnosti]. No mercenary force—and this is demonstrated by the experience of manpower acquisition for the Special-Purpose Militia Detachment—is capable of defending the people or of winning their support.

We are obliged to preserve universal military service for Russia's citizens. We are compelled by life itself to foster in Russian citizens a sense of patriotism, pride in their motherland, and a readiness to defend it. We must preserve and augment the state's defense capability and the Army's combat readiness. It is necessary to clear away many obstacles and "democratic" prejudices in this area.

Problems of Nuclear Missile Maintenance Aired

PM0701165594 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jan 94 p 2

[Aleksandr Dolinin "Reportage for This Issue": "'First Aid' for Missiles"—first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Hundreds of ballistic missiles "held" by the Strategic Missile Forces are on alert duty in Russia. Russian missilemen also have a headache over the launchers stationed in Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. They have plenty of trouble with this whole "nuclear missile business."

Missiles, which are packed full of electronics and fuel and have nuclear warheads, require constant surveillance and care, particularly in the event of the aging and the malfunctions which are making themselves felt increasingly clearly today, given the meager funding, depleted spare parts, tools, and accessories kits, the destroyed collaboration within the former Union, the customs obstacles....

In these conditions specialists locally and at the operational-technical control center of the Strategic Missile Forces, which our correspondent visited, are operating a "first aid" system.

Operational-technical control centers appeared in the Strategic Missile Forces High Command and in missile large strategic formations and combined units several years ago. They proved their viability in auspicious times, and in the present times—with universal shortages—they have proved simply essential.

"Such a center in the Strategic Missile Forces High Command," Lieutenant General Vladimir Nikitin, deputy commander in chief, believes, "is the eyes and ears of the forces' leadership. Here measures are taken to rectify the simplest fault in missile hardware and, if necessary, major technical decisions are worked out."

The center itself is housed in small, well-equipped premises. Nothing here is superfluous. Showing me round his facility, Lt. Colonel Mikhail Poludnitsyn, the center's chief, drew attention to the alert-duty personnel's posts and the collective electronic panel. The latter highlights information on the faults which have arisen, down to each individual launcher, gives their characteristics, and shows the time of reinstatement of "indisposed" missiles and protection systems. All this is conveyed via a computer link to the display units of chiefs of directorates and services.

The alert-duty personnel are headed by Col. Yuriy Surnin, who is assisted by two Alekseys—Captain Kotlyarevskiy and Senior Lt. Klychnikov. Col. Vladimir Bezgreshnov, preparing to take Surnin's place, unhurriedly bones up on the situation. Engineers are on duty round the clock, being operationally subordinate to the Strategic Missile Forces Central Command Post.

I asked Surnin to assess the condition of the missile armament and hardware over the past 24 hours.

"Twenty launchers (more than half of them outside Russia) required prompt [operativnyy] intervention," he said. "On one, for example, an instrument has failed." On this score he reported: Measures have been taken, and the instrument is being delivered to the launcher by courier from a store in one of the divisions. The alert-duty personnel knew the train's number and were monitoring the officer's time of arrival in the unit and the hardware's readiness to receive him.

"We strive for stability, operational efficiency, secrecy, and continuity in the center's activity," Lt. Col. Poludnitsyn emphasized.

This is achieved not only by constant alert duty but also by means of the planning meetings conducted on a daily basis by Lt. Gen. Anatoliy Perminov, chief of the Main Directorate for the Operation of Missile Armament, and on Saturdays by Lt. Gen. Vladimir Nikitin, deputy commander in chief, directly at the operational-technical control center

Invited to the meetings are leading specialists of main directorates and officers of the state technical supervision, communications, the motor vehicle service.... Such representation has entirely justified itself. This staff of professionals resolves all problems. It is only when these fall outside the competence of the deputy commander in chief that direct application is made to the commander in chief of the Strategic Missile Forces himself.

The Saturday conference at the center was held in a calm working regime, but you could sense the anxiety and inner tension of the people gathered there. There are quite a few problems in Russia, so it turned out, and things are still more difficult in the event of equipment malfunctions in Ukraine. There are more malfunctions in just two missile divisions there than in all the Missile Forces. Technical decisions on them have been worked out in good time, and the Ukrainian side has not rejected them; but it cannot implement them. There are not the material and financial means or even the fuel to enable the routine inspection and maintenance crews to travel to the launchers.

Problems also arise in the divisions in Kazakhstan. For example, instruments intended for the automated systems for the protection of nuclear weapons are not allowed through customs. Whether they like it or not, the "technical personnel" are also required to be diplomats and prepare requests to the Main Customs Administration.

On visiting the operational-technical control center I saw for myself that an unwritten law exists among the missilemen: Don't leave a missile until a malfunction has been rectified. Those on duty in the control center and those who work with a wrench directly in a combat position really are like "first aid" for nuclear missile weapons.

Progress, Future Tasks of Army Reform Eyed

PM0601171594 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jan 94 p 1

[Colonel Gennadiy Miranovich article: "Reforming the Armed Forces: What Is Planned for 1994"]

[Text] Looking back over what has been done already in the course of the reforms begun in the Army and Navy in 1992, you suddenly discover with satisfaction that, despite everything, we are advancing steadily and consistently along the planned path. You will agree that against a background abounding with examples of the failure to oblige or to display assiduity, including on questions of state importance, this appears encouraging.

I will remind you that it was planned to form the Russian Armed Forces in three stages, over six or maybe even eight years. In particular, at the first stage (during 1992) it was proposed:

—to create the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense;

—to create the legal basis of the building and functioning of the Armed Forces;

—to elaborate the structure, combat composition, and groupings of the Armed Forces;

—to withdraw to Russia's territory the troops under its jurisdiction;

—to complete the formation of administrative agencies of the Armed Forces.

The creation of the Defense Ministry was the priority area in all this work in 1992. As is known, the Russian Federation president approved the statute on it 27 July. By that time (the end of July) the elaboration of the structures of the Armed Forces for the next few years and the longer term was practically complete, the complexion of the ministry itself had been decided, and the basis of the concept of the organizational development of the Armed Forces had been drawn up.

In addition, a thorough and objective stocktaking of existing arms and hardware was carried out in 1992. The status of the Russian troops stationed outside the country was decided at an interstate level. In addition to their withdrawal to Russian territory, there was a planned reduction in the numbers of personnel, arms, and military hardware. The fundamentals of the legal basis of the organizational development and functioning of the Armed Forces were also drawn up. In August 1992 the Ural Military District was reinstated, the reforming of a number of other districts was begun....

Thus, by the end of the first stage of the formation of the Russian Armed Forces we already had quite a clear idea of their structure and, most importantly, we had bodies capable of administering them. At the same time the Defense Ministry's new structure is fundamentally different from the previous one. Above all, in terms of a clearer demarcation of functions within the central apparatus, which by November 1992 had been reduced by more than 30 percent (approximately 6,000 people). Some 140 generals' posts, 41 directorates, and 140 departments and sectors had been abolished. Directorates of the high commands of troops of sectors, of the Turkestan Military District, of two armies of the Transcaucasus Military District, and of several divisions and military schools had also ceased to exist. By the end of the year the strength of the Armed Forces as a whole had fallen by more than 200,000 men.

As we have already told our readers, the tasks at the second stage (1993-1994) of the formation of the Russian Armed Forces are:

—to complete, in the main, the withdrawal of Russian troops from other territories;

—to reduce and reform the troops (forces) and to create a military infrastructure on Russian territory;

—to create and enshrine in legislation a system of social guarantees for servicemen, members of their families, and persons discharged from military service into the reserve or into retirement (including ahead of schedule);

—to go over to a mixed system of manning the Army and Navy with personnel;

—to introduce alternative service.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's readers have been informed about the way these tasks were resolved in 1993. With the withdrawal of troops from East European countries, as is known, the first strategic defense echelon of the former Soviet Union ceased to exist. Troops of the second echelon have pulled back to Ukraine and Belarus, and their withdrawal from the Baltic region is continuing. As a result, military districts which had been internal—Moscow, Leningrad, and North Caucasus—have become border districts. The Ural and Volga Military Districts are becoming a base for the preparation of mobilization resources and a basis for creating a new operational-strategic formation.

The withdrawal of Russian troops from other territories will continue this year. In particular, it is planned to withdraw 250,000 servicemen and approximately 120,000 units of diverse hardware from the Western and Northwestern Groups of Forces, the Transcaucasus, and the Baltic countries. It is proposed that this process can be completed before 1 September.

In connection with the aforementioned changes in the military-strategic situation and the troop withdrawal the work on creating troop groupings and a military infrastructure on Russian territory, on improving their organization and establishment, and on equipping them with modern hardware and armament will naturally be continued.

Consequently, groupings of conventional armed forces will essentially be created anew on Russian territory before 1995. At the same time there is to be a sharp reduction in the overall number of large strategic formations and combined units. In the opinion of experts, the groupings which are being created will be capable of repulsing aggression in local and regional wars and military conflicts. In the event of a large-scale war being unleashed, they will be capable of ensuring the strategic deployment of the Armed Forces. The existing structures of the Armed Forces (Strategic Missile Forces, Ground Forces, Air Defense Forces, Air Force, Navy) and the way the Russian Federation's territory is divided up from military-administrative perspective will be preserved for the time being.

The priority tasks for 1994 include the creation of mobile forces capable of quickly being transferred, being deployed, and conducting mobile combat operations in any direction and in any region where a threat to Russia's military security arises.

It cannot be ruled out that that the armagements for and planning of the organizational development of the Armed Forces will be determined more precisely, taking account of the state system of planning that is taking shape and economic and other realities.

The switch to the mixed method of manning the Army and Navy began in 1993. According to General Staff data, contract servicemen already hold one post in every

seven among those manned by privates, sergeants, and petty officers. This year they are to make up 30 percent of the Armed Forces' total personnel strength. Posts which determine the combat effectiveness of units and ships and also troops fulfilling peacemaking functions will primarily be manned by specialists volunteering for military service under contract. Naturally, the quality of this contingent will largely depend on those who recruit volunteers and, in particular, on their ability to prevent persons whose moral and professional qualities are poor from finding their way into the military.

At the same time the continuation of the policy of professionalizing the Army will require the allocation of new targeted budget appropriations, the drawing up of new normative acts, etc.

In general, in terms of the organizational development of the Armed Forces, 1994 will be remarkable for the fact that we already have a practically full "military package" of laws, right down to the general military regulations. The "Main Provisions of the Russian Federation's Military Doctrine," adopted at the end of last year, make the work of shaping the Armed Forces still more focused not only in the political and strictly military respects, but also as regards military-technical and economic aspects. All this certainly does not mean, however, that the new parliament no longer has anything to do in the sphere of military legislation. Rather, on the contrary, life is posing more and more new tasks here. These include, incidentally, the introduction of alternative service planned for the second stage of shaping the Armed Forces.

Space Issues

'Mir' Crew Starts Preparations for Handover, Return

PM0501161794 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Jan 94 First Edition p 8

[Unattributed report: "Space Watch Continues"]

[Text] Vasiliy Tsybliyev's and Aleksandr Serebrov's space watch aboard the "Mir" orbital complex is continuing.

Over the last two days the scientific part of the crew's flight program mainly comprised geophysical studies. The cosmonauts took several series of shots of the earth's surface and carried out an experiment to assess the state of the atmosphere's ozone layer over various regions of our planet. Preparations have begun to hand over to the crew of the 15th main expedition, scheduled for liftoff 8 January. The flight of the "Mir" manned complex is going normally. The cosmonauts are healthy and feel fine.

Space Crew Prepares To Launch 8 Jan

LD0601234294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1823 GMT 6 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Anna Bakina and Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS— For the first time in the history of Russian cosmonautics a space crew will miss one back-up astronaut when it blasts off on January 8 for a rendezvous with the orbiting stations Mir.

The state commission has removed German Arzamazov from the stand- by crew in which he was included as a medical researcher, following his statement opposing the candidature of Valeriy Polyakov as a member of the main crew. Arzamazov vowed that Polyakov had not practiced medicine for a long time and therefore cannot fly as a medical researcher. He offered his own candidature.

However, Vasiliy Agapov, Russian deputy health minister, believes that Polyakov is a highly skilled professional who has been working as a deputy director of the institute of medical and biological problems for a long time. Additionally, he has spent 241 days in space.

During the flight, Polyakov will carry out medical experiments on himself. As for Arzamazov, he has developed some "psychological problems" in relations with his colleagues. Besides, he has never been in space before, Agapov said.

The deputy minister said that taking account Arzamazov's experience—he has been in the cosmonauts's team for 17 years and been included in stand-by crews twice,—he may be included as a crew member for the future Russian-American joint space flight.

Agapov stressed that according to the standing rules, the entire crew has to be replaced if one of its members is removed. However, in this particular case, because of the extraordinary nature of the situation, a "reserve cosmonaut" has been prepared for a flight "in case of emergency."

Crew Stands By

LD0701125094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0814 GMT 7 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Veronika Romanenkova and Semen Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS—Twenty-four hours are left before the start of the 15th main space expedition to the "Mir" orbital station. It is scheduled for 13.05 minutes 32 seconds Moscow time, January 8.

A "Soyuz TM-18" vehicle with three cosmonauts on board is to be orbited by Russian military-space forces from the Baykonur cosmodrome. The rocket is already

in position on the launching pad. A meeting of the state commission is to endorse the main and stand- by crews today.

At present, the main crew includes Viktor Afanasyev (commander of the vehicle), Yuriy Usachev (board engineer), and Valeriy Polyakov (research cosmonaut, physician). The stand-by crew includes Yuriy Malenchenko (commander) and Tolgat Musabayev (kazakh board engineer). The docking of the "Soyuz TM-18" vehicles with the "Mir" orbital complex is to take place at 14 hours 50 minutes Moscow time on January 10 (plus-minus 10 minutes).

The members of the 15th main expedition will work on board the station for three days together with the crew of the 14th main expedition—Vasiliy Tsybliyev and Aleksandr Serebrov, who began their orbital flight on July 1st, 1993. Tsybliyev and Serebrov had to remain on orbit for 146 days (until November 24, 1993), but due to difficulties with the timely delivery of carrier-rockets for the "Mir" complex, the crew's stay on the orbit was prolonged for 200 days (until January 17, 1994). The cosmonauts agreed to this prolongation. And now the landing capsule of the "Soyuz TM-17" transport vehicle is expected to touch down at 11 hours 25 minutes Moscow time, January 14.

Tsybliyev and Serebrov have made five exits into open space in the course of the flight, remaining there for a total of 14 hours 2 minutes. The implementation of the planned research programme and experiments was impeded by the limited financing of technological, biotechnological, geophysical and applied studies. Therefore, priority attention had to be given to research carried out on the commercial basis (for instance, nature studies and ecological research carried out to German and American orders), to astrophysical experiments ordered by the space research institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and also to works needed to draw up a target programme for the "Mir-2" station.

The 15th main expedition is to stay on the orbit for 179 days (up to july 4). But the research cosmonaut (physician) will remain on the orbit for a much longer period—427 days. He will play host to two more expeditions on board the "Mir" station this year, first to the 16th expedition which is to last for 135 days (from June 22 to November 2), and to the 17th expedition, which is to last 157 days (from October 3). The 17th main expedition will include a representative from the European Space Agency.

The experiments that are to be carried out during the 15th main expedition will focus on medical research. No exits into the open space are planned. Supplies to the "Mir" station will be brought by three cargo "Progress M" transport vehicles.

Manned 'Soyuz' Spacecraft Launched

LD0801102594 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1011 GMT 8 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Jan—The Soyuz TM-18 spacecraft with three cosmonauts on board has just been launched from the Baykonur cosmodrome by the Russian military-space forces. This marks the start of the 15th main expedition to the Mir station with Viktor Afanasyev (ship's commander), Yuriy Usachev (flight engineer), and Valeriy Polyakov (cosmonaut-researcher, doctor).

Program for 'Mir' Expedition Outlined

LD0801131794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1249 GMT 8 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—The programme of the 15th main expedition to the Mir orbital complex, started today, which is made up of Mission Commander Viktor Afanasyev, Flight Engineer Yuriy Usachev and Cosmonaut Researcher and Physician Valeriy Polyakov, is going to be very intensive.

On January 10 the spacecraft is planned to be docked with the Mir orbital complex. For three days the crews of two expeditions—the 14th expedition (Vasili Tsibiliev and Aleksandr Serebrov) and the 15th expedition—will be working there. On January 14 Tsibiliev and Serebrov will return to the Earth on board the Soyuz TM-17 spacecraft. Afanasyev, Usachev and Polyakov will work at the Mir complex for 179 days.

The fact that the crew includes a professional medic is the characteristic feature of the expedition. He is going to set the record of the longest stay of man in outer space and to spend more than a year at the orbital complex (429 days). Polyakov will work as a member of the 15th, 16th and 17th main expeditions.

A number of medical experiments will be conducted during the current space mission. Special attention will be devoted to the medical and sanitary-hygienic aspects of super-long space flights, including the future space expeditions to Mars, as well as to methods of offsetting the negative impact of weightlessness on human body during long flights.

During the simultaneous work of the two crews a series of biotechnological experiments will be conducted, so that Tsibiliev and Serebrov will be able to bring their results to the Earth.

Afanasyev, Usachev and Polyakov will conduct some technological experiments in the sphere of crystallography, the study of the impact of vacuum on various materials, and to continue astrophysical studies and the

long-distance sounding of the Earth. The work on geological anomalies will be resumed. The study from outer space of the emergence and development of typhoons in various parts of the world ocean is going to be very interesting. No space walkouts are planned.

The crew will receive three cargo spacecraft, one of which will have a ballistic capsule to be returned to the Earth. Planned repair and maintenance work will be continued in order to keep the Mir complex in a proper condition.

Details of Latest Mission

LD0801215594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2139 GMT 8 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—A spacecraft carrying three Russian cosmonauts blasted off from the Baykonur space centre in Kazakhstan on Saturday with just a two-second delay, proving that the Russian cosmonautics lives up to the standard despite financial hardships.

The flight will mark a record-breaking mission on orbit due to last a year and two months. Researcher Valeriy Polyakov will spend 429 days aboard Russia's orbiting station Mir carrying out medical experiments. The two other cosmonauts, Viktor afanasyev and Yuriy Usachov, will replace their colleagues, Vasiliy Tsibiliyev and Aleksandr Serebrov who will return to earth on January 14.

During the expedition, the cosmonauts will carry out a series of medical and biological experiments. Special attention will be devoted to the medical and sanitary-hygienic aspects of super-long space flights, including the future space expeditions to Mars, as well as to methods of offsetting the negative impact of weightlessness on human body during long flights.

During the simultaneous work of the two crews a series of biotechnological experiments will be conducted, so that Tsibiliyev and Serebrov will be able to bring their results to the earth.

Afanasyev, Usachev and Polyakov will conduct some technological experiments in the sphere of crystallography, the study of the impact of vacuum on various materials, and continue astrophysical studies and the long-distance sounding of the earth. The work on geological anomalies will be resumed. They will also study the emergence and development of typhoons in various parts of the world ocean. No space walkouts are planned.

The crew will receive three cargo spacecraft, one of which will have a ballistic capsule to be returned to the earth. Planned repair and maintenance work will be continued in order to keep up the Mir complex in a proper condition.

The experiments will provide invaluable scientific material for designing and building a new orbiting station, tentatively called Alpha, which is expected to be put in orbit after 1997, which will mark the beginning of an era of manned space programmes in world astronautics. An agreement to build such a station has been signed by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and U.S. Vice-President Al Gore.

'Soyuz' Heads for 'Mir'

LD0901093694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0905 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] Mission Control Centre January 9 TASS—The Soyuz TM-18 spaceship, with cosmonauts Viktor Afanasyev, Yuriy Usachev and Valeriy Polyakov on board, is on its way to the orbital complex Mir.

Over the past 24 hours the cosmonauts checked the hermeticity of the spaceship compartments and the operation of onboard systems. The first two-burn manoeuvre was performed to bring the spaceship closer to the Mir station.

The parameters of the spaceship orbit are now as follows:
- maximum distance from the earth's surface—335 km,
- minimum distance from the earth's surface—244 km,
- orbital period—90.1 minutes,
- orbital inclination—51.6 degrees.

Mir cosmonauts Vasiliy Tsibliyev and Aleksandr Serebrov are preparing to meet the crew of the 15th main space expedition.

According to reports from orbit and telemetry data, the flight of the Soyuz TM-18 spaceship and the orbital complex Mir is proceeding normally. The two spacecraft are expected to dock at 14.50 on January 10.

'Soyuz' Docks With 'Mir' Complex

LD1001123994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1231 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—The Soyuz TM-18 spacecraft docked with the Mir orbital complex at 14.50, Moscow time, today, as was planned, ITAR-TASS learned at the press centre of the Russian military-space troops. The Soyuz TM-18 spacecraft brought to the complex the crew of the 15th main expedition, made up of Viktor Afanasyev (mission commander), Yuriy Usachev (flight engineer) and Valeriy Polyakov (cosmonaut researcher and physician). The docking was carried out under the guidance of Colonel General Vladimir Ivanov, commander of the military-space troops and chairman of the interstate commission for ensuring flights and exploitation of the Mir orbital complex.

Two crews will work jointly at the Mir complex for three days. They will conduct a number of biotechnological

experiments, whose results will be taken to the Earth by Vasiliy Tsibliyev and Aleksandr serebrov (the 14th main expedition). They are expected to return on board the Soyuz TM-17 spacecraft at 11.25, Moscow time, on January 14.

Afanasyev, Usachev and Polyakov will spend 179 [as received] at the Mir orbital complex. They will conduct numerous medical, technical and astrophysical expediments and research. Polyakov, a physician, will remain at the orbital complex after his work-mates return to the Earth. His flight will last 429 days. He will work together with the crews of the 16th and 17th main expeditions (the crew of the latter will include a representative of the European Space Agency).

Lack of Funds Delays Construction of 2d 'Mir' Station

LD0801224694 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1444 GMT 8 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 8 Jan—The Russians have once again amazed everyone by their precision: the launching of the spacecraft "Soyuz TM-18"—planned for 13 hours 05 minutes 32 seconds—was carried out with only a two-second delay, whereas the permissible divergence from the launch time is plus-minus 60 seconds. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, the Russian cosmonauts and their colleagues from other countries will have to work on the Russian "Mir" station. It is true that the shortage of funds has had its effect on the state of the orbital complex. Launched in 1986, the station was meant to exist in orbit for five years. The shortage of funds, however, has lead to the fact that setting up a substitute—the "Mir-2" station—has been delayed. Regular work is being carried out on "Mir" to prolong its "life".

The "old age" of the station is already having a negative effect. It was noted at one of the latest sessions of the interstate committee that 661 defects have been revealed, including 18 during the period of the 14th main expedition (from 1 July 1993). However, these defects do not pose any direct threat to the safety of the crew. [passage omitted]

Statute on State Support for Space Sector

947Q0049A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Dec 93 p 12

[Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation Statute No. 1282, dated 11 December 1993, Moscow: "State Support and Backing for Space Activity in the Russian Federation"]

[Text] For the preservation and priority development of Russia's space potential in the interests of economy, science, and technology and for support of the country's defense and security the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation resolves:

1. To approve the appended Federal Space Program of Russia for the period up to the year 2000.

Considering the particular state importance of the Federal Space Program of Russia, to establish that the operations specified by this program shall be provided with material and technical resources in the procedure customary for a state defense order.

That when putting together the draft republic budget of the Russian Federation for the next year the Russian Federation Ministry of Economics and the Russian Federation Ministry of Finance shall provide for the funding of the said program via the Russian Space Agency on a separate line for R&D, capital construction (state investments), purchases of batch-produced space equipment, and operational expenditure on the maintenance of ground-based facilities of the space infrastructure, this expenditure being referred to protected items of the budget.

To authorize the Russian Space Agency for realization of the Federal Space Program of Russia:

to conclude long-term contracts (agreements) with those performing the work on the building of research and national economic space complexes;

to purchase all the batch-produced space complexes and make interim payments for the work on these complexes to the extent of 30 percent of their cost.

2. For the continued development and sophistication of the ground-based facilities of the space infrastructure of Russia:

that the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense, the Russian Federation State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry, the Russian Space Agency, the Russian Federation Ministry of Economics, and the Russian Federation Ministry of Finance shall within a month's time draw up and present to the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation proposals pertaining to development of the Plesetsk Cosmodrome and the building of a cosmodrome in Russia's Far East region;

that the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense, the Russian Space Agency, the Russian Federation State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry, and the Russian Federation Ministry of Finance shall draw up and present to the Russian Federation Ministry of Economics proposals pertaining to the assimilation by enterprises of the Russian Federation of the production of the materials, elements, and components and rocket and space technology formerly produced by enterprises of CIS participants, with the requisite calculations and feasibility studies;

that the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense (Military-Space Forces) and the Russian Space Agency shall conclude contracts and effect mutual settlements in respect to them directly with the enterprises of the CIS participants taking part in cooperation in the building of rocket and space equipment for the Russian Federation.

3. That the Russian Federation Ministry of Finance shall for the funding of operations pertaining to the Federal Space Program of Russia:

appropriate for the Russian Space Agency in 1993 some R126 billion for R&D, R7.8 billion for operational expenditure on the maintenance of facilities of the Baykonur Cosmodrome, R21 billion for purchases of batch-produced space equipment, and R10 billion for capital construction (state investments);

earmark in 1994 for the Russian Space Agency appropriations for R&D of R167 billion, for operational expenditure on the maintenance of the facilities of the Baykonur Cosmodrome of R16 billion, for purchases of batch-produced space equipment of R81.8 billion, and for capital construction (state investments) of R10 billion (in July 1993 prices).

4. To authorize the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense and the Russian Space Agency to effect phased payment for the batch-produced space equipment and to pay for the manufactured components.

5. That when administering the republic budget of the Russian Federation the Russian Federation Ministry of Finance shall allocate annually in the first quarter appropriations for interim payments for work pertaining to the Federal Space Program of Russia in the amount of not less than 30 percent of the annual funding of R&D, operational expenditure on maintenance of facilities of the Baykonur Cosmodrome, and the purchase of batch-produced space equipment and capital construction, and index the appropriations for these types of work in accordance with the change in the price level.

6. That the Russian Federation Ministry of Economics and the Russian Federation Ministry of Finance shall make available in the 1994-1996 period soft conversion loans to support the production of space equipment for the Central Specialized Design Bureau, the Applied Mechanics Research-Production Association, the S.A. Lavochkin Research-Production Association, the Precision Instruments Research-Production Association, the M.V. Khrunichev State Space Research-Production Center, the Samara Progress Plant, the Samara M.V. Frunze Machine-Building Association, the Permskiye Motory stock company, the Voronezh Machine Plant, the Arsenal Machine-Building Plant, the Academician S.P. Korolev Energiya Research-Production Association, the Academician B.P. Glushko Energomash Research-Production Association, the Admiralteyskiye Verfi state-owned enterprise, the Chemical Machine-Building Scientific Research Institute, the Russian Scientific Research Institute of Instrument Making for Space, and the Kazan Tasma Production Association if they have conversion programs.

7. That the Russian Federation State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry and the Russian Space Agency shall in conjunction with the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property present to the Council of Ministers- Government of the Russian Federation within a month's time proposals pertaining to the structural reorganization of the rocket and space sector of Russia's industry.

8. For the work on the building and production of space equipment to establish a planned profitability of up to 35 percent of the total costs of the work in the manufacture of space equipment and of up to 40 percent of the original work in the development of space equipment.

To extend to the work on research and national economic space equipment the Statute on a Lump-Sum Bonus for the Workforce of Enterprises and Organizations for the Creation of New Models of Arms and Military Equipment and the Performance of Most Important Scientific Research approved by Decree No. 558 of the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation of 16 June 1993.

9. Effective 1 January 1994, to introduce for employees of enterprises, organizations, and institutions, regardless of forms of ownership, and of ministries and departments assigned to the Baykonur Cosmodrome the privileges accorded by Supplement 1 for special work for the length of their stay at the cosmodrome.

10. That the Russian Federation Ministry of Finance, following a recommendation of the Russian Space Agency, shall allocate to the enterprises foreign currency loans for the fulfillment of the contracts (agreements) that have been concluded in the sphere of space within the framework of international arrangements.

11. That the Russian Space Agency, the Russian Federation State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry, and the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense shall in conjunction with the Russian Federation Ministry of Science and Technology Policy and the Russian Federation Ministry of Economics present within three months' time to the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation proposals pertaining to the creation on the basis of enterprises and organizations of space industry of federal space centers and the draft Statute on a Federal Space Center with a view to the concentration of orders for space equipment at a minimum number of enterprises and assurance of their state support.

12. That the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense shall within a month's time prepare and present in the established procedure a Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation draft decree on measures to ensure the social protection of servicemen of

the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense serving at "Baykonur Cosmodrome and their families.

13. To authorize the Russian Space Agency to hold a general director's reserve for the funding of unforeseen operations in the amount of up to 2 percent of the annual funding of work on the Federal Space Program of Russia.

14. To extend to employees of the Russian Space Agency the terms of remuneration and material-consumer and medical services, and also the privileges and benefits in effect for employees of ministries and state committees of the Russian Federation.

15. To increase the maximum numbers of employees of the central staff of the Russian Space Agency by 40 with a corresponding increase in the wage fund.

That the Russian Federation Ministry of Finance shall submit to the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation proposals concerning a supplementary wage fund for employees of the central staff of the Russian Space Agency.

16. To authorize additionally for the Russian Space Agency the office of deputy general director.

17. To approve the measures to support the activity of the Russian Space Agency according to Supplement 2.

[Signed] V. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Council of Ministers- Government of the Russian Federation

Supplement 1

Privileges for Employees of Enterprises, Organizations, and Institutions and Ministries and Departments of the Russian Federation Assigned to the Baykonur Cosmodrome for Special Work

1. For employees of enterprises, organizations, and institutions, regardless of forms of ownership, and of ministries and departments assigned to the Baykonur Cosmodrome for preparing and conducting tests, completing and maintaining space equipment, performing manufacturer's warranty (technical) service, and carrying out construction, installation, and startup-debugging work to ensure the realization of space programs (hereinafter called "the employees") the following are established for the time of their stay at the cosmodrome:

compensation payment in the amount of 25 times the minimum wage established by legislation on a monthly basis;

a per diem allowance payment (including for servicemen other than compulsory service personnel) at the current rates with an increase by a factor of 1.5;

annual supplementary paid leave of one work day per month of time spent at the cosmodrome, but not more than seven work days (as in an environmental precrisis-condition zone).

2. For the employees and their families the following supplementary privileges pertaining to the protection of mother and child shall be introduced:

prenatal leave spent on the territory of the Russian Federation with free return travel to the leave point;

compensation of 50 percent of the cost of food on the dispensary register obtained for children;

annual accommodation free of charge for children up to 16 years of age who have lived at the cosmodrome for more than a year in specialized children's institutions of a medical or sanatorium type and other health and fitness establishments on the territory of the Russian Federation with free travel there and back.

3. The Russian Space Agency and the Russian Federation State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry shall finance within the limits of the appropriations allocated them the construction of housing for the employees.

4. Payments and compensation to the employees and their families shall be made by the organizations, enterprises, and institutions and ministries and departments of the Russian Federation assigning their employees to the Baykonur Cosmodrome.

The expenditure on the payments and sums of compensation shall be included in the cost of the product and the estimated expenditure on the maintenance of publicly funded organizations and ministries and departments of the Russian Federation.

Supplement 2

Measures To Support the Activity of the Russian Space Agency

1. To authorize the Russian Space Agency:

to form off-budget funds, including foreign currency funds, from the voluntary contributions of enterprises and organizations and also from other sources, including allocations in the amount of 1.5 percent from the prime costs of jobs (services) on the building of research and national economic rocket and space equipment, and to use part of the said resources to support unforeseen work in the interests of the Federal Space Program of Russia and foreign economic activity and also for the development of a system of training and retraining of specialists and the solution of individual questions of social-consumer and medical services and the social protection of employees of the central staff of the Russian Space Agency and enterprises under its jurisdiction;

in accordance with international treaties and agreements that have been concluded, to make contributions from the off-budget funds to enterprises and other legal entities founded with its participation and to purchase shares of stock and securities contributing to the accomplishment of the missions entrusted to the agency.

2. To allocate to the Russian Space Agency on an operational management basis an administrative building at 42 (structures 1 and 2) ul. Shchepkina, Moscow with engineering facilities, including means of communication, and inventory and other state property providing for the normal functioning of the staff of the agency and the operation of the said administrative building.

That the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property shall exclude from the capital fund of the Eksikom Stock Company state assets that are not due to be contributed to the capital fund and also the engineering facilities, means of communication, inventory, and other state assets providing for the normal operation of the said administrative building and contributed earlier to the capital fund of the Eksikom Stock Company.

3. To include the Russian Space Agency on the list of properties subject to state protection approved by Russian Federation Government Decree No. 587 of 14 August 1992, "Questions of Private Detective and Security Activity."

To authorize the formation under the auspices of the Russian Space Agency of a detachment of Category I militarized security.

4. By 1 January 1994, to establish an extra monthly payment in the amount of up to 20 percent of their salary for employees of the Russian Space Agency working directly with secret documents.

Regional Affairs

'Joint Defense System' Agreed With Chechnya

LD0901164694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1625 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] Groznyy January 9 TASS—Russia and the Chechen Republic agreed on Sunday to have a joint defence system. A draft agreement to this effect was signed by the Russian and Chechen Defence Ministries, the CHECHENPRESS news agency said.

Colonel Musa Merzhuyev, Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev's representative in the republic's Armed Forces main staff, said that under the agreement Russia will provide the Chechen Army with arms, equipment and ammunition, ensure their servicing and maintenance at its plants and train officers. It has also pledged not to use its Armed Forces against the Chechen Republic.

In turn, the Chechen Republic will participate in the joint defence system to repel possible aggressions and provide its air bases to Russian Air Force units in wartime. Additionally, it will take part in joint military manoeuvres and war games and will not join any military alliances or blocs aimed against Russia.

The draft agreement also stipulates that in peacetime the Chechen Republic will have an army not bigger than 1.5 per cent of its population.

Chechnya Terms Electoral Commission Proposal Ultimatum

LD0701162994 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 7 Jan 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission of the Chechen Republic has described the proposal by Russia's Central Electoral Commission that Chechnya should hold State Duma elections as a fresh ultimatum to Chechnya, the ANI agency reports. Russia has not abandoned its gendarme methods. It is setting a deadline for the Chechen state to wind itself up by 13 March 1994, the statement by the Central Electoral Commission of the Chechen Republic says. All this, notes Groznyy's Chechenpress agency, complicates relations between Chechnya and Russia.

Commission Documents on Chechnya Elections

PM1001134194 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 4

[Appeal No. 163 of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission "To the People and Leadership of the Chechen Republic," dated Moscow, 5 January 1994 and signed by Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission Chairman N.T. Ryabov, followed by Decree No. 162 of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission "On Scheduling the Elections of Deputies of the Federation Council and the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly in the Chechen Republic," dated Moscow, 5 January 1994 and signed by Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission Chairman N.T. Ryabov and Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission Secretary V.A. Zagulyayev]

[Text] The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission proposes to the people and leadership of the Chechen Republic that they examine and resolve positively the question of the Chechen Republic's participation in the elections to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly in March 1994.

In accordance with the Russian Federation Constitution, the Chechen Republic was and still is a fully equal component [subyekt] of Russia and must by rights be worthily represented in the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

By means of their active stance and their daily dialogue with colleagues from other parts of Russia the newly elected Federal Assembly deputies from the Chechen Republic could make an appreciable contribution to eliminating the problems that exist today.

For its part the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission is ready to provide organizational and financial backup in holding the elections to the Federal Assembly from the Chechen Republic.

We are convinced that, given good will and the desire for happiness and prosperity for the peoples of our common multinational motherland—Russia—a second appeal on this question will elicit understanding and a positive decision from the people and the leadership of the Ch hen Republic.

With very best wishes,

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission

[Dated] 5 January 1994

The elections of deputies of the Federation Council and the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly were not held in the Chechen Republic 12 December 1993.

For the purposes of ensuring the right, provided for in the Russian Federation Constitution, of citizens of the Russian Federation to participate in the management of affairs of state and to elect and be elected to federal organs of state power, the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission decrees:

The elections of the deputies of the Federation Council of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly in the No. 20 two-seat electoral district and of the deputy of the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly in the No. 32 single-seat electoral district formed by the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission on the territory of the Chechen Republic are to be scheduled for 13 March 1994.

The report of the scheduling of the elections in the Chechen Republic is to be published in the press.

[Signed] N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission

V.A. Zagulyayev, secretary of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission

[Dated] 5 January 1994

Ingushetia Accuses North Ossetia Over Refugees

LD0901104194 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] We have received a statement from the press service of the permanent representation of Ingushetia under the Russian president. It says that one month has elapsed since the Russian president signed the edict on the procedure of returning refugees and forced migrants to their permanent places of residence on the territories of the Republics of North Ossetia and Ingushetia.

According to this edict, the first stage of the return of deported Ingush citizens to their permanent places of residence was due to begin last December. However, the Russian president's edict has not been implemented. The statement says that leaders of the Republic of Ingushetia have often expressed their readiness to sit down at the negotiating table with leaders of North Ossetia. However, the latter have a negative attitude to such statements. The statement also says that those who hamper the implementation of the Russian president's edict will bear full responsibility for the potential consequences of such a policy. This statement is signed by Ingushetia's President Ruslan Aushev.

Ingush Leader: North Ossetia Ignores Yeltsin Decree

LD0801155894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] In a statement for media, President Ruslan Aushev of Ingushetia accuses North Ossetia's leadership of ignoring President Yeltsin's decree to bring back the refugees who were forced to leave their homes since 1992 when hostilities between Ossetia and Ingushetia began.

"Although the decree was signed almost a month ago, it has not been implemented", Aushev stressed.

He also drew attention to the fact that his administration had repeatedly voiced readiness to sit down at the negotiating table with North Ossetian leaders to work out mutually acceptable mechanisms of fulfilling the presidential decree to guarantee the full safety of the two republics citizens. "Regrettably, our appeals to the North Ossetian leadership have evoked a negative response", Aushev said.

All of this, in his words, has been least conducive for stability and has been discrediting the federal authorities and the newly adopted constitution. "I believe that responsibility for possible consequences rests with those who obstructs the presidential decree", the statement says.

In cables to Russia's Prosecutor General Aleksey Kazannik and to the Central Electoral Commission's Chairman Nikolay Ryabov, Aushev stressed that more than 60,000 deported Ingushes - citizens of North Ossetia - cannot return to their homes and are deprived of the constitutional right to take part in presidential elections scheduled for January 16 in North Ossetia. "If voting takes place without them, election results cannot be recognized as valid", the messages say. A request is made to send legal experts to North Ossetia to monitor the election campaign and the course of presidential elections in line with Russia's constitution.

North Ossetian Premier To Request Murder Report

LD0901150794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1327 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] The Chairman of the North Ossetian Council of Ministers Sergey Khetagurov intends to ask the republic's Interior Ministry to clarify circumstances behind the murder in the summer of 1993 of Viktor Polyanichko, head of the temporary authority on the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia. Khetagurov made the statement Sunday addressing a news conference in Vladikavkaz.

The statement was caused by the article in the MEGAPOLIS-EXPRESS weekly, which says about the the North Ossetian prime minister's complicity to Polyanichko's assassination. Khetagurov characterized the publication as an outrageous statement which deliberately appeared during the election campaign in North Ossetia and Khetagurov stands for presidency.

The statement by the MEGAPOLIS-EXPRESS weekly was denied at the news conference in Vladikavkaz by a senior official of the criminal department at the Russian Interior Ministry, Lieutenant General Vladimir Kolesnichenko.

North Ossetia Condemns Ingush Refugee Statement

LD0901155094 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1435 GMT 9 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 9 Jan—A statement by Ingushetia's President Ruslan Aushev to the effect that North Ossetia is hampering the implementation of the Russian president's decree on the procedure for the return of refugees has provoked a negative reaction from the North Ossetian leadership.

Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of North Ossetia, today sent a telegram to Boris Yeltsin expressing categorical disagreement with the assertions of the Ingush president. The position of the Ingush president is described as a "desire to draw the federal authorities into resolving the complex refugee problem by force, to destabilize the situation and hamper the normal process of preparing for and holding elections for president of the Republic of North Ossetia on 16 January."

"Attempts to impose conditions from the outside while resolving internal matters of our republic," the telegram says, "are leading to the disruption of the difficult negotiating process of settling the relations between the peoples of the neighboring republics and are aggravating the situation in North Caucasus."

Election Date Set in Koryak Autonomous Okrug

OW1001131094 Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy Radio Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy Network in Russian 1830 GMT 6 Jan 94

[From the "Kamchatka News" program]

[Text] Sergey Levushkin, head of the Koryak Autonomous Okrug, on 4 January approved the decree which sets the date and ratifies the statute for the election of deputies to the okrug Duma. Elections are set for 6 March 1994. The voters of the Koryak Okrug are to elect eight deputies to the okrug Duma, two deputies from each rayon, who will work on a full time basis.

The decree of the okrug electoral commission establishes the okrug electoral districts, some of which will be territorial, and others, national. The composition of the rayon electoral commissions is to be submitted for approval before 14 January. The commissions will prepare and conduct the election of deputies to the okrug Duma. It is presumed that the elections will be conducted according to the same procedure as for the Federal Assembly of Russia. So, on this occasion, the Koryak Autonomous Okrug is behaving like a member of the Russian Federation ensuring independent economic and cultural development in the territory.

Sakhalin, Kurils To Elect Regional Parliament

LD0901145794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1419 GMT 9 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Belovitskiy]

[Text] Yuzho-Sakhalinsk January 9 TASS—The Sakhalin and Kuril islands expect a growth in political activity in the second half of the winter, due to elections to the new regional parliament, scheduled for March 20 1993.

In accordance with Regional Governor Yevgeniy Krasnoyarov's order, the parliament will consist of two chambers, the Regional Council and the Regional Duma. The council will consist of 17 deputies who will continue to hold their regular jobs while fulfilling their representative functions. The duma will consist of 13 full-time representatives.

Local observers predict, with a few reservations, that the March elections will be similar to the national December elections in that most of the islanders will vote primarily for the person, not his party or his programme. It would not be surprising if most of the seats in the regional council go to leading figures in the municipal and regional administrations or their proteges.

In contrast to the upcoming electoral activity, the political thermometer on the Sakhalin and Kuril islands has been around zero for the past five months. The few representatives of different parties, blocs, and movements have had practically no effect on the lives of the islanders.

Altay Prepares for Legislative Elections

LD1001100694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0938 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentin Pavlov]

[Text] Barnaul January 10 TASS—Altay is preparing for the elections to the regional legislative assembly, scheduled for March 13.

According to the working council's decision, the legislative assembly will have one chamber in which 50 deputies will sit, some of whom will work full time on a salary.

Fifty single-mandate electoral districts have been formed for the elections. Each of them has an average of 37 thousand voters.

Russia's Central Electoral Commission appointed 12 members of the Altay Regional Electoral Commission.

International Affairs

Deputy Minister Abstains From Comment on U.S. Talks

LD0801151494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Ukraine's Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Tarasyuk, who returned from Washington to Kiev Saturday, believes that "one should not be in a hurry to make any conclusions" concerning statements of the American officials on impossibility to expand relations with Ukraine until the nuclear weapons problem is solved. "One should wait," he declared to Ukrainian journalists in the airport.

At the same time the deputy minister deviated from any comments regarding results of the Ukrainian-American negotiations held by the Ukrainian governmental delegation this week.

Ukraine's Vice Premier Valeriy Shmarov, head of the delegation, is still in the United State and will return to Kiev on Monday. Ukrainian officials are expected to voice their statement on the result of the negotiations the same day.

Meanwhile, the official press release distributed by the Ukrainian Embassy to the United States says that "during the consultations held by the Ukrainian delegation in the US State Department the parties focused their attention on economic development of two countries."

The document says that in the course of a meeting between members of the delegation with the US President Bill Clinton "the parties have discussed a wide spectrum of issues related to bilateral relations between Ukraine and United States and, in particular, prospects of expansion of economic relations between two states, military-political problems, and international security issues."

The negotiations paid special attention to the discussion of a program of negotiations of the Ukrainian governmental delegation which is scheduled to visit the United States late January.

In Pentagon the parties signed a statement on principles related to the creation of an American-Ukrainian committee on defense industry conversion.

The press release contains no information on tripartite Russian-Ukrainian-American consultations on nuclear disarmament.

Possibilities of Kravchuk-Clinton Meeting Viewed

LD1001105294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1017 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Odessa January 10 TASS - "We are studying now" the question of a place and time for a possible meeting between Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and U.S. President Bill Clinton, Viktor Stelmakh, head of the press service of the Ukrainian president and the government said in a telephone interview with ITAR-TASS on Monday at 10:45, Moscow time [0745 GMT].

This is the only response by Ukraine for the time being to an issue which is of interest to many other capitals, apart from Kiev.

However, nobody doubts Ukraine's interest in such a meeting. Describing numerous possible versions, local analysts prefer three most probable: the first suggests that a meeting may take place at the Kiev Airport on January 12 if Clinton makes a stopover en route from Prague to Moscow.

According to the second version, the Ukrainian president will visit Moscow on January 14. The third presupposes the two presidents' meeting in Minsk on Sunday, January 16.

Kiev very painfully reacts to another inaccuracy circulated by various mass media, including Russian, concerning the number of missiles in Ukraine. Some periodicals wrote about 1,000 nuclear missiles.

In actual fact, this is an error made as a result of confusing nuclear warheads with missiles. Ukraine has 176 strategic nuclear missiles. Kiev believes that it is to destroy 130 of them in compliance with the START-1 treaty.

U.S. Accused of Exerting Disarmament Pressure

LD0801184594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1657 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] The head of one of the commissions of the Ukrainian parliament has accused the United States of putting pressure on Ukraine to make it speed up its nuclear disarmament.

Dmytro Pavlychko, chairman of the parliamentary Commission on International Affairs, said such pressure, which came from Russia and the United States, could only give a better chance to radicals at the March 1994 parliamentary election.

"If we're talked to from a position of strength, the only result will be that we'll want to defend ourselves," he told reporters in Kiev. Ukraine is a sovereign state, "and we won't go on our knees before anyone, not even before the president of America," he said, commenting on a statement by a White House spokesman, who said on January 5 that U.S.-Ukrainian relations would remain at their present low level until Ukraine met all its nuclear disarmament commitments.

Pavlychko said the United States was mainly interested in Russia, with which Ukraine would, however, find "common language." "We have lived together and will continue to live together," he said.

Nuclear Control Said 'Technically Possible'

AU1001120094 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 6 Jan 94 pp 1, 3

[Article by Anatoliy Martsynovskyy: "Missiles on Target. Ukrainian Nuclear Weapons Are Among the Main Objectives in Moscow's Offensive External Policy"

[Text] **It would be naive to believe that our missiles constitute a military threat for Russia. These missiles are under the operational control of Russia's Strategic Missile Troops headquarters; they are serviced by Russian specialists alongside Ukrainian ones; our military doctrine does not envisage first nuclear strike, and so forth. Notwithstanding this, Russia seeks Ukraine's nuclear disarmament as soon as possible and the "missiles issue" remains a stumbling-block in relations between Ukraine and Russia.**

Moscow is developing vigorous activity. Taking advantage of its prestige (more specifically, our lack of prestige) in the world, it does everything it can to continue playing the role of a big brother who holds the younger brother's hand and keeps pointing at him: "A naughty boy!" This negative image of Ukraine, the image of a minor nuclear aggressor is also steadily being created by the Russian mass media, which are readily quoted by the West. The world community is being encouraged to put pressure upon Ukraine. An appeal was recently issued by Russian designers, scientists, and specialists of the Atomic Energy Ministry [Minatom] to citizens and governments of world states, in which the Russians intimidated those governments with the dangerous state of Ukrainian nuclear warheads. All the numerous statements by high-ranking Ukrainian politicians and military figures on the groundlessness of such assertions do not produce any special effect and constitute, figuratively speaking, whispers against a background of Russian loudspeakers.

Russia's official argument in this political struggle is the dangerous state of our missiles. Having pointed out that our politicians (people's deputy Serhiy Semenets, cochairman of the group for studying aspects of ratifying START I: "Emergency Situations Are Impossible") and military figures (Minister of Defense Vitaliy Radetskyy: "The State of Missile Facilities Is Satisfactory") have a different opinion, we will proceed to some other, more spontaneous, methods resorted to by Moscow for attaining Ukraine's nuclear disarmament.

If Ukraine gets rid of its missiles, Russia will become the only nuclear power in the region of Central and Eastern Europe. This will also give it the traditional and desired possibility to be at the top. The Russian desire to be in control is more than obvious: For example, Russia's nervous reaction to plans by Poland, Hungary, and Czechia to join NATO was very revealing. If such plans are implemented, the alignment of forces promoted in the region will not be in Russia's best interests. At a recent (1 December 1993) CSCE conference in Rome, Russia demanded that the mandate of a peacekeeper in CIS countries be given to it—not a single country supported that initiative. Fortunately for us, because that mandate, alongside statements by Russian politicians, in particular, Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev ("Russia must actively defend the rights of the Russian-speaking population, using rapid-deployment forces for the purpose"), would give our neighbors an opportunity for large-scale activities, since (again, from Moscow's point of view) that "Russian-speaking population" is abused in almost every former Union republic. Thus, Russia is clearly striving to gain control of the region, and Ukrainian missiles, which are presently a real factor of deterrence, do not in any way suit its "far-reaching" plans.

Another factor of Russian impatience is totally prosaic—the cost of the content of the Ukrainian warheads. This amounts to billions of U.S. dollars. That is why Russia demands that the warheads be transferred precisely to it. Kazakhstan, which had hitherto been "quiet," played a dirty trick on Moscow: On 13 December, an American-Kazakhstan agreement was signed—the Americans want to buy the entire uranium content of Kazakhstan's missiles. That uranium is worth about $1 billion; therefore, this money is flowing under Russia's nose into Kazakhstan's treasury. Moscow newspapers immediately called Kazakhstan's missiles "in fact, Russian property" and regretted that Ukraine's uncompromising position is having such a bad influence upon Kazakhstan's behavior. Therefore, Russia's striving to get hold of Ukrainian warheads is perfectly understandable, as is also Moscow's anxiety on this point: There is no agreement between Ukraine and Russia on transferring warheads to Russian plants.

Russia's reaction to our parliament's decree on ratifying START-1 was all the more negative. At that time, Moscow resembled a furious fisherman looking at yet another empty hook. Kozyrev demonstratively refused to receive our Ambassador Volodymyr Kryzhanivskyy. The aforementioned appeal by Russian scientists to the world was quickly arranged. The Moscow press, having stopped pouring dirt by buckets, opened all the taps on the tank.

A few words on the decree itself. It is quite obvious that this document cannot be assessed in a simple way. Yes, despite previous promises, we have actually become a nuclear power, although temporarily so; yes, the decree is at variance with some articles of the Lisbon Protocol under which our president's signature appears; yes, the document itself, from the point of view of politicians, contains rather naive points regarding security guarantees for Ukraine. However, it is pointless to assert either the wisdom or worthlessness of that document, proceeding from immediate considerations alone: Doubtless the future, perhaps, not so distant, will provide such an assessment. Let me remind you that the deputies almost unanimously (what a surprise!) approved the reduction, over seven years, of 36 percent of launch vehicles and 42

percent of warheads. They [the deputies] advanced conditions to the world: Never use nuclear weapons against Ukraine; do not use conventional armed forces against it, and do not resort to the threat of force; refrain from exerting economic pressure for the purpose of resolving any disputes; respect Ukraine's territorial integrity and inviolability of borders. By the time the decree was adopted, Ukraine had 176 vertical-launch installations with 1,240 nuclear warheads and 43 heavy bombers with 372 nuclear warheads.

That the position of the Ukrainian parliament should not be characterized in categorically negative terms was soon confirmed by the Russian elections in which Zhirinovskiy, a "sincere friend" of the former imperial colonies, triumphed. Anti-Ukrainian articles on nuclear topics immediately disappeared from Moscow newspapers (apparently, not for long). The world became concerned and a question arose: Is it generally safe to transfer the Union's nuclear weapons to Russia? At any rate, the warheads of 17 missiles that were deactivated by Ukraine at the end of December have remained "at home." At other times, this would have given rise to certain emotions in Russia. Now, there is complete tranquility. Maybe, the United States will also revise its policy with regard to Ukraine. So far, it only listened to what Russia was saying.

According to Leonid Kravchuk, Ukraine will continue to adhere to its decision to become a nuclear-free state, but we will demand that a tripartite agreement be concluded with Russia and the United States. Meanwhile, an opinion is being formed among Ukrainian parliamentarians on the need for Ukraine to gain full control of its missiles: Such control on the part of Russia is dangerous for our country. It is significant that there is no nonaggression agreement between the two states. Besides, Russia's military doctrine envisages a preventive nuclear strike against nuclear countries. Technically speaking, according to specialists, it is not a major problem for Ukraine to gain positive control over the missiles. The problem is, rather, a political one.

Without doubt, we are in favor of a nuclear-free world. However, at present, a number of political and economic considerations prompt us to refrain from hasty steps, such as was the proclamation of the country's nuclear-free status at the dawn of our independence. At any rate, the fulfillment of the parliament's decree has already started, and this is a specific step toward a nuclear-free Ukraine.

Radetskyy Views Ashgabat Summit, Grachev Talks

WS0701190994 Kiev KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian 6 Jan 94 p 7

[Interview with Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy by Georgiy Chernomorskiy; place and date not given: "I Will Not Accept Reproach Regarding Ashgabat"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Chernomorskiy] There have been reports in the press regarding your speech at the session of the CIS Defense Ministers' Council in Ashgabat, blaming you for making statements contradicting our official state policy. Is that correct?

[Radetskyy] I believe that some lies have been added to the truth. Tell me, what was wrong with Ukraine's desire to share its experience of forming national armed forces with other states, given the fact that our Republic was the first to set out upon that path? Or what harm could be done by my statement regarding building our relations on a bilateral basis? This would be the most acceptable solution for us. Besides, I do not rule out the possibility of resolving several problems within the CIS framework. Some politicians have attempted to reproach me. Thus, I would ask you to publish the text of my Ashgabat speech in your newspaper. [passage omitted]

[Chernomorskiy] Television reports have repeatedly emphasized that a number of important issues were resolved in the course of your meeting with Russian Defense Minister Grachev, and that there was no confrontation between you two. What did you discuss?

[Radetskyy] I used to study with Pavel Grachev at the General Staff Academy, where he was in his senior year. When I met him in Ashgabat I was afraid that the "elder brother syndrome" might have an impact on our relations. However, Grachev was very polite, both to me and my motherland. That determined the atmosphere of the negotiations. We discussed military-technical issues. If Russia does not receive Ukrainian subassemblies it will not be able to produce certain arms. At the same time, Ukrainian defense industries will face work stoppages without Russian parts. We also reached an agreement on another important issue. The point is that a number of Ukrainian military educational institutions offer training not available in Russia. At the same time, there is no need for us to open new departments or institutes provided we can train our specialists in the neighboring state. An agreement was also reached regarding a balanced approach to nuclear issues and the dispute over the Black Sea Fleet.

[Chernomorskiy] Our newspaper has been receiving a lot of letters from mothers of soldiers drafted in spring 1992. Were it not for the Supreme Council decree prolonging their term of service, those soldiers would have returned home by now.

[Radetskyy] I will be happy to reassure mothers with your newspaper's assistance. I want to point out that this is a temporary measure. On the one hand, we are reducing our Armed Forces now and that will alleviate the demand for manpower. Secondly, I believe that our lawmakers will review the categories of draftees excused from active service. I also hope that the number of young people dodging the draft will substantially decrease. [passage omitted]

Plight of Black Sea Fleet Personnel Highlighted

PM0701102994 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Dec 93

[Report by Boris Kostenko; from the "Voskresenye" program]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Kostenko] The situation in Sevastopol can already be likened to a state of emergency. One ruble fetches 25 coupons today. For the most part, people get to work on foot—there are few cars around, as there is virtually no gasoline to be found anywhere. These warships have not left their moorings for several months now. The vast majority of officers have remained loyal and true to the oath they swore. And every day, early in the morning, the old power's navy ensign is raised high above the warship's stern, and they salute it. It is almost all they have left. The actual purchasing power of a Black Sea naval officer's wage is five times lower than that of his counterpart in, say, the Baltic Fleet. Rubles sent from Russia are converted into karbovantsy according to the official state exchange rate, and not the market rate—that is, at a rate of 4:1 rather than 25:1. The fleet pays customs duties on imported food, fuel, and various types of equipment—including things brought in for the Ukrainian Navy. It pays for the use of land, roads, and test ranges. The Ukrainian Army is exempt from such taxes. What's more, according to some statistics, 40 percent of the strategic reserves in Ukraine have already been used up. Meanwhile, a Russian officer coming to serve in Sevastopol has to pay Ukrainian customs officers almost a whole month's salary. In November, 52 billion karbovantsy deposited in Black Sea Fleet accounts in Ukrainian banks were frozen. This money had been sent over from Russia to build homes for naval officers. It was finally released in December following wholesale price increases in Ukraine, only to become a pile of worthless bits of paper. Russia has long borne nigh-on three-quarters of the expenses of maintaining a fleet on the Black Sea. Ongoing talks on the future of the fleet and of Sevastopol have in practice led nowhere. Many people here in Sevastopol believe that the option of transferring the fleet's main base to Russia on a leasehold basis should suit everybody. That way, Yeltsin will not look like an occupier, nor Kravchuk a traitor.

National Affairs

Deputy Chairman Views Work of Parliament

AU0701170494 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 4 Jan 94 p 3

[Interview with Vasyl Vasylyovych Durdynets, first deputy chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council, by unidentified HOLOS UKRAYINY correspondent; place and date not given: "The Time To Adopt Crucial Decisions"]

[Text] **The eighth session of Ukraine's Supreme Council was held in conditions of an exacerbation of critical phenomena in the economic, social, and political spheres and an intensification of the social tension in society. What are its achievements? What could it elaborate? What is awaiting the Ukrainian parliament in 1994? Our correspondent talks about this with first deputy chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council, V.V. Durdynets.**

[HOLOS UKRAYINY] Esteemed Vasyl Vasylyovych, the present situation in Ukraine is difficult. The prestige of the power structures has been shaken. Notwithstanding this, many people still believe in our state's supreme legislative body. This follows at least from the fact that people gather precisely under the windows of the parliament building in order to express their dissatisfaction with something, expound their demands, or simply hold discussions with people's deputies. Therefore, they hope that parliament is still capable of doing something to build up the state. Has the eighth session justified these expectations? Which of the legislative acts adopted by it can be assessed by you as fundamental and leading?

[Durdynets] Well, this question is not a simple one, and I would generally agree with the emphasis that you have placed in it. However, one point needs to be better specified: Today, people do not only pin their hopes on the Supreme Council, but, to a no lesser degree, on the bodies of executive power, the president, and the Cabinet of Ministers, which are directly responsible for the fulfillment of the laws and decrees that have been adopted. People gather at the square in front of the Supreme Council mainly on the days of plenary sessions in order to hold a direct dialogue. This is, undoubtedly, mutually useful.

As regards the work of the eighth session, it was really held in difficult conditions. It is worth stressing here that this session adopted quite a number of exclusively important legislative acts, which may be called a political reaction on the part of the legislators to the topical demands of our time. The session worked very hard and was very productive.

[HOLOS UKRAYINY] Before closing the session, Ivan Stepanovych Plyushch quoted some figures....

[Durdynets] Yes, Ivan Stepanovych quoted specific figures. In terms of quantitative indexes, the session differs from others. Its 52 meetings discussed 249 questions and adopted 66 laws and 133 decrees.

However, it is not only by this that I would characterize the session. It must be said, first and foremost, that, by passing the law on the early elections of the Supreme Council and president, it responded to the need to renew the power structures, a need that has become felt in our society.

The Law on the Elections of Ukraine's People's Deputies was adopted and the composition of the Central Electoral Commission was approved. In fact, the adoption of

these documents marked the beginning of the preelection campaign. The people were given a chance to delegate their new envoys to the Supreme Council, and the political parties—their representatives.

[HOLOS UKRAYINY] At its eighth session, the Supreme Council repeatedly discussed the issue of the economic situation in Ukraine and of the social protection of the population. The "dialogue" between the people's deputies and the Cabinet of Ministers was quite sharp. The government has changed three times over the three years. A number of laws and decrees have been adopted. What positive changes have taken place? What has the Supreme Council managed to achieve, in your opinion?

[Durdynets] Economic and, in particular, social problems were and still are the most painful ones for our society. It is clear that the economic situation in Ukraine is also quite noticeably affected by foreign factors and by the still severed production ties within what used to be a single national economic complex. Nor is the structural and technological rebuilding of Ukraine's economy proceeding smoothly: It is too delayed, sluggish, and has many shortcomings. However, our misfortunes are largely due to strictly internal problems, inefficient administration, and errors in the implementation of reforms.

Unfortunately, the economic programs, including those proposed by previous governments, have not produced positive results. The expanding spiral of inflation and the uncontrolled price increases have led to a drastic deterioration of the people's standard of living. In the course of the eighth session, the Supreme Council had to adopt nine legislative acts directly associated with the social protection of the population. I mean the Law on the Status of War Veterans and Guarantees of Their Social Protection, the Law on the Main Principles of the Social Protection of Veterans of Labor and Other Citizens of Old Age, changes to the Law on State Assistance for Families With Children, the Decree on Urgent Measures for Overcoming Hyperinflation in Ukraine, and other legislative acts.

It is important to emphasize that, in view of the conditions that have recently taken shape in the state, the Supreme Council adopted, a few days ago, a new Concept for the Social Protection of Ukraine's Population. It has laid down the principles for the legal and formative foundation for social protection and elaborated mechanisms that, proceeding from the actual economic possibilities, will ensure the fulfillment of state guarantees regarding the implementation of the citizens' rights to labor and unemployment benefits: Remuneration for labor and minimal wages; provision of state assistance and other types of social assistance for low-income citizens and families with children.

Yet another important principle, which follows from the concept, is that the system of social protection must be built in such a way as to prevent egalitarianism and moods of parasitism from prevailing during the distribution and consumption of benefits. This system must not weaken the motivations and incentives for labor, but must create conditions for their fullest possible manifestation.

[HOLOS UKRAYINY] Some politicians assert that it is precisely the Supreme Council that raises prices....

[Durdynets] There are such politicians, but they cannot confirm this with a single document. The Supreme Council has not made a single decision to raise prices. On the contrary, as you remember, last spring, it imposed a moratorium on price increases, but owing to the government's persistent requests (the government assured us at that time that it was the last price increase), the Supreme Council agreed to authorize the decision.

[HOLOS UKRAYINY] How about the considerable price increases in December?

[Durdynets] It is precisely on this that I want to stress that the last month of work of the Supreme Council's eighth session was particularly strained. In connection with the sharp price increases and popular discontent, the situation called for urgent and extraordinary measures on the part of the Supreme Council, the president, and the government. After the discussion, which continued for many days, of the reports by Acting Prime Minister Yukhym Zvyahilskyy, Chairman of the Board of Ukraine's National Bank Viktor Yushchenko, Minister of Finance Hryhoriy Pyatachenko, and Minister of the Economy Roman Shpek, the Supreme Council passed, on 17 December, an important decree on the economic and social situation in Ukraine with specific recommendations for the emergence from the economic crisis and, a week later, a decree on additional measures for stabilizing the socio-economic situation. In my opinion, these documents will somewhat mitigate the situation. Certainly, provided that strict control is established over the timely and thorough fulfillment of the regulations on stabilizing the socio-economic situation and overcoming inflation. Here, the standing commissions of deputies must actively interact with the executive bodies. At the ninth session, which will start on 20 January, the Supreme Council will analyze how these decrees have been fulfilled.

[HOLOS UKRAYINY] At the beginning of the interview, you mentioned legislative laws adopted by the eighth session as a response to the need for a political renewal in society. Unlike some politicians, you seem to be convinced that elections will be held. Am I right? Another question: Will it not happen that quite a number of those people's deputies who, today, work actively and competently on commissions, will not be elected to parliament for the simple reason that they appear in front of the microphones or at rostrums less frequently?

[Durdynets] I will start with your second question: It will be a pity if this happens. It is a fact that a professional

nucleus of legislators, highly erudite politicians responsible to the state and the people, has formed in the present parliament. However, I hope that these deputies will continue to serve our country. It is high time that we created a civilized and professional parliament.

As regards new elections, it will not be simple to hold them. However, I do not think that the majority of voters will not come to the polling stations at all, as some people predict. I hope not. It cannot happen that the majority of voters will not care who works in parliament and who will come there. The law passed is not as bad as some people picture it. It is democratic. I am sure that the majority of citizens in our society are mature enough to have a profound understanding that it is precisely they who must form a new parliament through elections and take care of their own future. This is, incidentally, attested to by the political tension in the state.

[HOLOS UKRAYINY] Perhaps, the discussion of the draft of the new constitution of Ukraine should be placed into the category of key problems?

[Durdynets] Undoubtedly. The work on the draft of the new constitution was quite time-consuming. It is the main law of the state, and the deputies consider its elaboration to be a particularly important matter. The eighth session discussed the draft into which the Constitutional Commission introduced fundamental changes and additions—taking into account the results of the nationwide discussions. Much time was devoted to its discussion at plenary meetings. The deputies were able to analyze the draft in depth.

Many important remarks and proposals were voiced in the course of the discussion. They refer to all parts of the draft, but in particular, to those articles that deal with the general principles of the constitutional system, democracy, the electoral process, forms of state power and administration, the main principles of Ukraine's territorial system, and the organization of state power and self-government in the provinces. I want to stress that different points of view were voiced in the course of the discussions, but one could feel a constructive approach in assessing the draft constitution and the desire to find the best variant, which would take into account the experience of democratic countries and our national traditions and specific features of state building.

It was decided to publish the draft constitution in the press once more, so that all the citizens of Ukraine could familiarize themselves with it. The Constitutional Commission, which generalizes the proposals made by the people's deputies, is already receiving letters with specific proposals. We expect that the question of the new constitution will also be discussed in substance at the conference of the representatives of local councils of Ukraine's people's deputies, which will be held on 18 and 19 January. We are also thinking how to speed up the amendment and adoption of the new constitution, because it is extremely difficult to build a young state without new main law. Ukraine needs a new constitution.

[HOLOS UKRAYINY] The ratification by parliament of START I and of the Lisbon Protocol gave rise to very strong reactions, which are also quite controversial. How would you comment on this?

[Durdynets] Right, the adoption, on 18 November, by the Supreme Council of the decree on the ratification of these documents gave rise to a considerable response in the world. The numerous reactions and commentaries by state and political circles point to their understanding of the motivations for adopting such a decision. At the same time, some political figures and mass media offered interpretations of some aspects of the decree that differ from what they really meant.

As you know, the adoption by the Supreme Council of the decision on the ratification was preceded by an almost year-long discussion and thorough collective analysis of possible military, political, economic, ecological, and social consequences of the implementation by our state of this treaty, which had been concluded without Ukraine's participation. In their approach to this issue, the parliament, its standing commissions, and the temporary working group of deputies, created to pass the corresponding recommendations, proceeded both from Ukraine's noble intention to become, in the future, a nuclear state and from the ideas of the inviolability of state borders, as well as from other national interests. In the course of the in-depth and comprehensive study of the problems, the deputies also paid attention to such a serious matter as the economic feasibility for our state to fulfill, to a full extent, the obligations that are stipulated by the treaty.

We have striven to convince the international community, and first and foremost nuclear and other influential world powers, that it is essential for them to make reciprocal steps and offer Ukraine reliable security guarantees and provide it with proper financial assistance, enabling it to destroy those weapons, and to compensate us for the nuclear warheads. Unfortunately, our hopes were futile.

That is why the Supreme Council, while adopting the decision on the ratification of START I with reservations, took these aspects into account and proceeded from the real situation that had taken shape. Incidentally, recent events, and particularly openly anti- Ukrainian statements made by individual Russian political and state figures, justified our position.

[HOLOS UKRAYINY] The problems of combating crime in our country continue to be acute. How were they dealt with by the Supreme Council?

[Durdynets] The deputies analyzed these problems with great concern, because the growth of crime, and in particular organized crime, are a matter of serious concern to our society. This problem is constantly within the

Supreme Council's field of vision. This session alone approved more than 20 normative acts intended to strengthen law and order and intensify the struggle against crime, in particular, laws on more severe punishment for certain crimes against the state and on the state protection of court and law- enforcement officials; the draft law on combating corruption was given its first reading. Important changes and additions were introduced into the Criminal and Criminal-Procedural Codes and other legal acts. Active work is under way on the elaboration of new codes.

Serious criticisms were directed against the Procurator General's Office in connection with the shortcomings in its work. The Supreme Council strengthened the leadership—a new Procurator General was appointed and a new composition of the board approved. Changes were introduced into the Law on the Procurator's Office that are intended to improve its work.

A number of acts that were adopted are aimed at reforming the judicial power and improving legal proceedings. A new leadership of Ukraine's Supreme Court was elected.

The main task now is to strengthen parliamentary control over the implementation of legislation on legal issues and to combine the efforts of executive and law-enforcement agencies in combating crime.

[HOLOS UKRAYINY] However, one does hear much more criticism than approval of the Supreme Council's activities....

[Durdynets] All of this is understandable. Life does not get any better, and the legal acts that are adopted do not, unfortunately, work the way in which we would like them to. Incidentally, many voters judge the Supreme Council's work only by the plenary meetings. They do not see the colossal, painstaking, and, I would say, very hard work done by the Presidium, standing commissions, and subdivisions of the Supreme Council apparatus. Every issue, no matter how unimportant it may be, is subjected to expert analysis by specialists and is discussed in deputies' groups and commissions before it is put on the agenda of the plenary meeting. Diverse, sometimes opposite, ideas and proposals need to be studied, substantiated, and compared in order to enable a proper decision to be made.

For example, I mentioned two extremely important decrees adopted by the Supreme Council at the end of the session—on the economic and social situation in Ukraine and on measures to stabilize the socio-economic situation in the state. A special working group had been created to prepare this. It included people's deputies, ministers, and specialists—economists and lawyers. I happened to be the head of this group. We worked hard for several days and nights. Everything was there—sharp discussions, opposite views, and some peoples' narrow departmental ambitions. We had to go through all of this to reach a compromise and arrive at coordinated and well-weighed decisions that would take into account the numerous appeals from the provinces and proposals made by people's deputies. Believe me, this was a very difficult task. We have to ma' e the decisions, as people expect us to do.

I must say that, since these decisions were made, the government has made considerable efforts to implement them. There are great difficulties here.

[HOLOS UKRAYINY] Before the end of the last plenary meeting, it was announced that the next session, the ninth, will start work on 20 January. Meanwhile, one hears doubts: Will the Supreme Council be able to work at full capacity if some of the deputies become involved in the pre-election struggle?

[Durdynets] The ninth session will primarily discuss two most important issues—the plan for Ukraine's economic and social development and the draft state budget for 1994. They were on the agenda of the eighth session, but the Cabinet of Ministers was unable, for various reasons, to submit these bills on time.

Of course, this cannot be considered a normal situation, when a new year starts and there is still no plan for the country's economic and social development and no state budget. That is why the deputies at the session sharply criticized the government for such a delay. We hope that the drafts of these documents will be submitted to the Supreme Council within the first 10 days of January. By the beginning of plenary meetings, the deputies will be able to analyze them in detail in standing commissions. Until the budget for 1994 is adopted, the Supreme Council, by its decree of 24 December allowed the government and the National Bank to carry out the financing of immediate expenditure in January 1994 within the limits of real contributions to the budget.

I will also list those issues whose discussion cannot be delayed in view of their social significance. These are, in particular, the draft state program for privatization meant for next year. It must take into account the best experience accumulated by other countries and our specific characteristics and mistakes so that it would open the way to an intensification of the economic reforms.

We must discuss the second reading of the bill on combating crime and introduce the appropriate changes into Ukraine's Criminal and Criminal-Procedural Codes. It is not necessary to prove the great need for this law today, when corruption seriously threatens the development of our national economy.

The Supreme Council must discuss the amended draft concept of Ukraine's national security (policy principles). As is known, this global issue was discussed at the eighth session, but the discussion was not finished.

There also are a number of bills that were already passed at first reading. They are expected in particular sectors. Some of the currently effective legal acts also need to be

altered and supplemented. However, is it possible to put all of them into the "working portfolio" of the future parliament?

Therefore, I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of the deputies will consider these questions with great responsibility and that the ninth session will work in a normal and businesslike manner. Now, during the period between the sessions, standing commissions do not halt their legislative work and also conduct checks on the implementation of the laws and the decisions that have been made.

I am using this opportunity to greet all Ukrainian citizens and their families for Christmas and the New Year and wish them happiness, prosperity, peace, accord, and a better life.

Thank you for your attention.

Presidential Candidate Grinev Interviewed

PM1001102994 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 6

[Interview with presidential candidate Vladimir Grinev in Kiev by correspondent Boris Sverdlov; date not given: "We Must Learn from Russia"]

[Text] Kiev—What was essentially a sensation took place at the first presidential elections in Ukraine. Vladimir Grinev, a quite youthful doctor of science from Kharkov, took third place among the six candidates. Recalling the contest, Vladimir Borisovich says: "At the time I was only trying my strength. Today I am feeling more resolute."

To judge by the mounting authority of the "New Ukraine" movement he heads, in the opinion of sociologists he has quite good chances of becoming head of state. Especially as he has coordinated his actions with the no less popular candidate Leonid Kuchma. They will go to the new presidential elections together.

Nonetheless Grinev believes that at the present stage for Ukraine the election of a new president is not the main issue. Beginning radical reforms without delay is far more urgent. Because for the young independent state which has come under the pressure of economic and political collapse delay is like death.

[Grinev] I believe that Ukraine has fallen into a quagmire because of an abominable domestic and foreign policy, he says. Having won independence through suffering, its president and Supreme Soviet decided to set off on their journey with the old administrative-edict baggage. And without making any moves in the direction of reform. And a state with an enormous domestic potential in industry and agriculture ran aground. The attempt to retain all-embracing state control over the economy naturally ended in catastrophe.

Successes are no better in foreign policy. Ukraine is so integrated with the East that in the next few decades it will be unable to exist without it. But politicians see a threat to its sovereignty from Russia. But the threat in fact does not come from Russia, as the national-radicals are trying to persuade us, but from spurning rapprochement with our Eastern neighbor. Without Russia and the CIS countries, without economic alliance with them, it is impossible to improve the prosperity of a people driven into deep poverty.

From my viewpoint, we must immediate eliminate border barriers which impede the movement of citizens, goods, and capital. Ukraine is most interested in this. And of course we are perturbed by RUKH leaders' statements that the thwarting of the ratification of the treaty on economic alliance is a victory for the democratic forces. The president, instead of adopting a firm stance on such a decisive issue, has resorted to his favorite method—maneuvering and playing word games with himself.

Meanwhile we have contrived to lag very considerably behind Russia. I view economic alliance with it primarily as a prerequisite for joint movement along the path of reforms.

[Sverdlov] So the present authorities cannot amend anything?

[Grinev] Naturally. The question today is this: Can the present authorities bring Ukraine to the repeat elections without cataclysms and in general will we live to see the repeat elections? I can reply in the affirmative.

[Sverdlov] If you are elected president what first three edicts will you issue?

[Grinev] The first will be on the land market, the second on the capital market, the third on the real estate market. It is naive to believe that without putting these levers into operation we can, for instance, stabilize the financial system.

[Sverdlov] As deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet you suggested to parliament your own economic program for Ukraine's resurrection. But it was not supported....

[Grinev] There is nothing surprising in that. The parliament tried to do in the old way what cannot be resolved under the new conditions. But, you see, I mounted the rostrum with the demand that the economy be reformed through the market. It is a good thing I was not hissed off the platform. I realized then that I could not deal with that Supreme Soviet and I resigned.

Today there are at least five or six fine programs for stabilizing the economy. And they have all been shelved merely because there is no one to implement them. Neither the president nor the parliament relies on a single political force.

[Sverdlov] You are running with Leonid Kuchma in the election campaign. Are you not afraid? After all, it was under Leonid Kuchma that Ukraine's economy started to crack at the seams.

[Grinev] To be precise the seams had cracked under the former premier. Incidentally, Kuchma's popularity rating is increasing. He is a man who only tells the truth and who, counter to politicians of a nationalist bent, who have only an anti-Russian syndrome to their name, he is resolutely advocating rapprochement with Russia. And to all appearances the majority of voters are in solidarity with him.

Presidential Candidate Opposes Transfer of Crimea

LD0801214894 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2100 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Sevastopol, 8 Jan—Speaking on a Crimean radio program, Ivan Yermakov, head of the Sevastopol state administration, sharply criticized the leadership of Ukraine, saying that the Ukrainian Government's policy was leading to the impoverishment of the population, first of all, in Sevastopol. At the same time, Ivan Yermakov spoke emphatically against the transfer of the Crimea to Russia: "One should not rush events and promise the unfeasible. This would lead to critical developments," Yermakov said. He spoke in favor of Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus joining in a political and economic union.

Reduced TV Broadcasting Schedules Resume

LD0701220794 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 7 Jan 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The citizens of Ukraine have gotten used to surprises of all kinds from the government. In December they had time to resign themselves to the latest surprise, and not the most painful: under the new television broadcasting schedules, television channels have been working only from 1800 until midnight on working days.

Broadcasting resumed in full in the New Year, but it turns out that viewers' rejoicing was premature. This was just a small Christmas present, and the restrictions come back into force on 10 January. Naturally the official reason remains the same: the shortage of electric power. However, local authorities in certain regions do not conceal their own view on the matter, using figures to prove how small the savings have been as a result of these restrictions and describing them as primarily a political move.

Banknotes Illegitimately Traded on Black Market

LD0701152794 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1200 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] While reports of an impending currency reform which are sweeping the Ukraine are mere rumors at the moment, hryvnas are already being traded openly on the main market in Zaporozhye, the homeland of the Ukrainian Cossacks. Both bankers and law enforcement agencies are worried at this development. They want to know how the new banknotes, which were printed in Canada and, supposedly, kept securely under lock and key, turned up on Zaporozhye's black market. By all accounts, the black marketeers already know what the exchange rate for the new currency will be.

One hryvna is being exchanged for 24,000 karbovantsi, only 50 percent less than the U.S. dollar.

Belarus

Shushkevich, Yeltsin To 'Coordinate' Standpoints

WS1001100194 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0800 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich has confirmed that his meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin will take part this week. Speaking to a BELINFORM correspondent, the legislative speaker said that a wide spectrum of bilateral relations will be discussed at the meeting. According to Shushkevich, Belarus and Russia are planning to coordinate their standpoint on the eve of the scheduled visit of President Clinton to Moscow and Minsk.

Party Head Says Western Policy Aiding Fascists

WS0501193094 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 28 Dec 93 pp 1,3

[Interview with Belarusian Popular Front Chairman Zyanon Paznyak by Vital Tsyhankow; place and date not given: "Zyanon Paznyak: 'Empire Cannot Be Democratic'—Belarusian Popular Front Chairman on Russia and Russian Elections"]

[Text] [Tsyhankow] How do you assess the results of the elections in Russia? Were they a surprise to you?

[Paznyak] The results of the elections are natural for an empire that is experiencing a deep socioeconomic crisis. Such situations bring people to power who address the lower instincts of the lumpen-proletariat and promise too much. This is a well-known path by which some European countries have gone and by which Russia is now going. The results of the elections were not startling for the Belarusian Popular Front [BPF]. Moreover, we did not expect that the elections could improve the political situation in Russia, because the political platforms of Russian political parties were nourished by imperial trends. All of them, in greater or lesser degree, backed a general Russian imperial mood because—and I would like to repeat this again—an empire cannot be democratic. That is an axiom.

It is evident that Russia is developing in an antidemocratic way—this is natural for Russia, though it is at the same time a tragic way for events to develop. All the power will be polarized (not only the State Duma!), with the mutual opposition of the president and legislature. All this can lead to civil war, even to global war.

Speaking about the results of elections in Russia, we can state the complete failure of Western policy toward Russia. The West has once again demonstrated its complete misunderstanding of the events in the former states of the USSR. In general, I assess the Western policy as being Philistine. A similar policy had caused the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentropp Treaty in the 1930's.... The policy directed at the creation of a democratic Russia is illusory as long as Russia remains an empire. However, it can exist only as an empire....

[Tsyhankow] That is to say, you think that Russia can exist only as an empire or it better cease to exist at all?

[Paznyak] Yes, this is the case.

[Tsyhankow] Does this fit the interests of the world community?

[Paznyak] Yes, it will be better when an empire ceases to exist. Having reached the peak of its economic potential in the 19th-20th centuries, Russia became a source of military danger. An empire is always extending its borders, it is ready to swallow the entire world, foreign cultures and economies and later deem them Russian. The Romans thought this way, so what happened later? The Roman Empire collapsed, the Roman nation and language disappeared.

The Russian nation should specify its nationality. It is always the national culture that is aspiring to develop and defend its creative potential. Currently, the Russians have an imperial consciousness and think along imperial lines.

[Tsyhankow] How can Russians understand that they need to split the Russian Federation?

[Paznyak] It is impossible to realize. This topic demands a lot of time and we are limited to a newspaper interview. However, you should realize: Russia is an empire whose population thinks along imperial lines.

[Tsyhankow] It is a vicious circle. Is there a way out?

[Paznyak] In the opinion of BPF, the way out lies in the creation of a counterbalance in East Europe. The Baltic-Black Sea Association will stabilize the situation in this part of Europe. This idea was born in Belarus in 1916. The empire can start falling and this dangerous and lengthy process should be kept under control.

[Tsyhankow] How do the results of the Russian elections effect the pro-communist Supreme Soviet majority who advocate a close union with Russia?

[Paznyak] Communism and fascism have the same roots, they have similar ideas and symbols. On a certain level of development, they can change color and even unite with someone else. However, history demonstrates that communists will never share power with other political forces. By the way, Russian history is a vivid example of this: Communists required only a single night to murder the members of several political parties! Communists are ready to unite with anyone, however, they will betray and do away with their allies as soon as they secure unlimited power. When the position of communists in the State Duma is strengthened, their Belarusian colleagues will resume their activities.

Currently, Belarusian communists are at a crossroads—they do not know what to do. Please, pay attention to

this: More than two weeks have passed since the Russian elections were held, and our Supreme Soviet is still silent on the issue; as if Russia has ceased to exist.

[Text] [Tsyhankow] What conclusions has the BPF made?

[Paznyak] We propose nothing extraordinary. There are legal norms according to which the international community should operate. These legal norms were violated for decades and only now are they being revived. Belarus should introduce its own national currency and carry out an independent national policy or, in other words, Belarus should force the world to recognize it so it can reap the fruits of its labor.

The second and more significant conclusion concerns nuclear weapons. When adventurers seize power in a nuclear state and plan to wage aggressive wars and change borders, they should not get access to the nuclear button. This is clear to everybody. Therefore, Ukraine and Belarus should both give back their nuclear missiles to Russia. Belarus does not require nuclear weapons and I want to remind you that the BPF was the first to propose that a nonnuclear and neutral status of a Belarusian state become a constitutional requirement. We do not need nuclear weapons but we cannot give back the nuclear warheads to politicians who can start a world war.

[Tsyhankow] In your opinion, can the acting Belarusian Government arrive at the same conclusion?

[Paznyak] It is not difficult to draw this conclusion, however, our cabinet members are busy discussing an issue of corruption in high places and are anxious over how to stay in power. The problem is that we cannot destroy our weapons without our Western partners—it is an expensive affair. Even today Belarus is dismantling its tanks and missiles, however, no other state in the world is doing the same. All this is done at the expense of Belarusian taxpayers and without any Western aid. What is it? If the West is not going to aid us in the future, we should find another way out of this predicament.

[Tsyhankow] Can we expect that the policy of the West toward Russia will change? It will be more embarrassing to change their policy after the presidential elections are held in Russia.

[Paznyak] All the political, moral, and financial support of the West is going to Russia, while Belarus and Ukraine are completely ignored. The West authorized Russia (with its huge oil and gas potential) to subordinate Belarus and Ukraine. The West did it consciously, pretending that it was pursuing a wise policy of creating a "democratic Russia."

However, if the West is concerned with the spreading of European civilization, it should have started with the strengthening of Baltic, Belarusian, and Ukrainian statehood. The West should not have earmarked credits to this procommunist regime but should have rendered moral and political support to democratic forces. We do not even require their money—we have both labor and intellect. We require consultative visits by foreign experts. We do not get this—all the aid is directed to Russian, where people fight and kill each other.

Will the West change its position on the issue? Of course, they will introduce some changes. However, as far as my personal opinion is concerned, the Western mind is very inert and slow, and cannot be radically changed in a short period of time. The West thinks that Russia and its neighbors are far away, however, they are very close to its door.... I am scared that the West will unwillingly—as was done with Hitler—help Russian fascists come to power.

Army To Be Reduced to 100,000 in 1994

LD0801210594 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] The second stage of reform in the Belarusian Armed Forces will be completed in 1994. According to reports from the republic, the strength of the Belarusian Army will be reduced to 100,000 men. This is three times less than the strength of the military grouping inherited from the former Soviet Union. According to the Belarusian defense doctrine law, the strength of the national army should be within the limits needed to ensure the country's sovereignty.

Military Unemployment Said To Deteriorate in '94

WS1001112494 Minsk BELAPAN in Belarusian 1000 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] The problem of social protection of servicemen discharged from duty will continue to deteriorate this year. According to the Defense Ministry's data, there were about 10,500 unemployed officers in the republic at the end of 1993. In particular, the number of jobless servicemen amounts to 4,097 people in Minsk Oblast; in Mogilev Oblast—1,388; in Vitebsk Oblast—753; in Grodno Oblast—1993; and in Gomel Oblast—734 people.

Moldova

Snegur Welcomes NATO Cooperation

LD0801215494 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Today Mircea Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova, sent a message to heads of state and government of NATO member countries, RIA reports. Proceeding from the principles of the interdependence of states' security, the letter says, Moldova considers the transition to a quantitatively new level of cooperation to

be timely and propitious. This cooperation will undoubtedly lead to a strengthening of security and stability throughout Europe, the Moldovan president's message says.

Official: Dniester To Hand Over Ilascu Group

AU0801205994 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Report by Mircea Dascaliuc from Chisinau]

[Text] Moldovan Parliament Speaker Petru Lucinschi today received Petre Roman and Eugen Dijmarescu [leaders of the Democratic Party-National Salvation Front—PD-FSN, of Romania], who are in Chisinau after having accompanied a humanitarian convoy that conveyed gifts to the children of Moldova.

During the talks, the officials briefed one another on the current situation in the two countries, laying special emphasis on finding ways for achieving real cooperation in the future between the two countries. They also tackled financial, economic, law-making, social, and political issues.

Lucinschi presented the situation in the eastern and southern rayons of Moldova, detailing the difficulties facing the leadership of Moldova in ensuring legality in those areas. In that context, Lucinschi made some remarks referring to the situation of the Ilie Ilascu group [imprisoned and sentenced to death by the authorities of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic], assessing that within a short time, the entire group will be transferred to Chisinau and handed over to the authorities of Moldova.

Assessing Romanian-Moldova relations, the speaker of the Moldovan Parliament asserted that, unfortunately, the results obtained so far in the furthering of those ties do not correspond to what was originally intended and expressed his hope that in the future the cooperation between the two states will develop from mere declarations to concrete actions, including in the law-making field.

The meeting was also attended by Marian Enache, Romania's ambassador to Chisinau.

Dniester Group Opposes Transfer

AU0901170894 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1930 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Tiraspol BASAPRESS, 8/01/1994—From our correspondent: The United Workers' Committee (OSTK) in Tiraspol pronounces against the transfer of the Ilascu group to other states [the Republic of Moldova]. It is also against the reduction of the imprisonment period. Valeriu Garbuz [prisoner who acted as a witness incriminating the others] could be an exception, states the OSTK declaration announced by the local radio. The OSTK leaders believe that the transfer of the convicted to another state could be made only on the basis of an international agreement concerning this field. OSTK opposes that Moldova's [February] general elections should also be held in the Dniester Republic. OSTK does not support the idea of a referendum on the future social and state order in the Dniester region. The idea of this referendum was launched by the union of parties, organizations, and social movements. In OSTK's opinion, the results of the referendum can be used by enemies of the Dniester Republic to undermine the state order.

'Civilized Dniester' Party Set Up To Promote Social Aims

LD0801115894 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] A new party, the Civilized Dniester [Tsivilizovannoye Pridnestrovye], has been set up in the Dnester region. The party's main social aims are that each family in the Dniestr region should enjoy modern housing with full amenities with at least 20 square meters per person, a car, a telephone, good furniture, and television and video recorder. Creators of this party believe their action program is similar to those of President Boris Yeltsin's team, Yegor Gaydar and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, as well as programs of democrats and reformists in Ukraine and Moldova. Its leaders stated that their party will strive for the Dnestr republic achieving a status that would guarantee conditions for civilized democratic development, irrespective of what happens in the main territory of Moldova. The party's efforts will be directed to achieving the lasting peace in the region.

Kazakhstan

Cabinet of Ministers Examines '94 Budget

LD0801102994 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0700 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] A session of the Cabinet of Ministers took place yesterday, chaired by Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko. Under examination was the republic's draft budget for the current year, which had been sent earlier for finalizing. It was noted that a complex situation had developed in the credit and financial sphere. A lot of difficulties have been experienced with ensuring revenue for the budget.

However, a 1994 draft budget gives us hope that its implementation will change the republic's socioeconomic life for the better. First of all, it is based on the national currency. Secondly, it has taken into account recommendations of international financial organizations, such as the IMF and the World Bank. Thirdly, it pursues a tough policy which is dictated by the needs of market economy. At the same time, we should support the less well off sections of society. Social support should be targeted and preserved. It was decided to submit the draft budget for consideration by the president of the republic.

The government's report on the main issues of a program for systematic and economic transformations for 1994 was also approved by the session. This report will be submitted for consideration by the Paris meeting of the IMF consultative group on 14 January.

Reporter on Consumers' Economic 'Shock Therapy'

PM1001113794 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Jan 94 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Kazakhstan: They Finished Celebrating and... Found Themselves Faced With the Market"]

[Text] The first week of the new year has literally made every inhabitant of Kazakhstan face up to the market. The policy pursued by the republic's government last year of artificially containing inflation and the attempts to protect the population by means of the usual "socialist distribution methods" ended in failure. Kazakhstan has adopted extraordinary measures to regulate the funds channeled into consumption.

Journalists have called the decree of the State Commission for the Introduction of a National Currency, published here during the first days of January, "the first dose of shock therapy" in the republic. According to this decree, wages and all forms of remuneration will now be coordinated strictly with the amount and quality of work done. So Kazakhstan's experiment in "distributive entry into the market" is over. What is essentially the first attempt, founded on market laws, to lay a reliable foundation for increasing the amounts of output, goods, and services produced has begun.

The aim set by the Kazakhstan Government is more than obvious, although the local press is in no hurry to comment on the deep-seated reasons for what happened. Moreover, the true dynamics of the inflation which gripped the republic were persistently concealed from the republic's inhabitants for many months. It is vexing that the unprecedentedly large increase in food prices announced 5 January also passed without comment in the press. For example, the cost of one liter of milk increased sixfold! This means that one more good intention of the republic's government—that "everything will be settled as before"—has burst. The fixed prices introduced by the republic's government two months ago in connection with the switch to a national currency have failed to withstand the pressure of inflation. All fixed prices, with the exception of bread prices, were abolished as of 5 January. This means that Kazakhstan is the first country in the Central Asian region to abandon regulated food prices and has been forced to let them float freely.

"Russia has survived a price shock, and Kazakhstan will also cope with it," local journalists sympathizing with the parliamentary bloc of optimistic marketeers commented on the present situation.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Delivers Christmas Message

LD0701150194 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Kyrgyz 0000 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Orthodox Christmas message by President Askar Akayev; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear compatriots. Orthodox believers are celebrating their great festival on 7 January, the birthday of Christ. I congratulate in a most heartfelt way all our Christian citizens on their great holiday and wish every success in their work for the benefit of our motherland, health, and happiness. May this solemn festivity unite Kyrgyzstanis around the ideals of good, justice, mutual tolerance, and respect. We highly value the activity of the Orthodox church aimed at consolidation of compatriots irrespective of their outlook and political beliefs, for strengthening of civil peace and interethnic accord, and for spiritual renewal of our existence.

Our state sees its duty in helping people to share eternal spiritual values. The new constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic, which guarantees rights for freedom of belief and for spiritual and cultural freedom opens up the way to a civilized human communication based on cooperation, mutual help, and unification of all creative forces.

I am convinced that this will play an important role in overcoming the current difficulties and creating the life which our people deserve. Happy Christmas!

Yeltsin, Akayev To Discuss Economic Situation 20 Jan

LD0801124194 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Kyrgyz 0000 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Boris Yeltsin is expected to visit Kyrgyzstan. Janysh Rustenbekov, the head of the presidential apparatus, confirmed that Boris Yeltsin and Askar Akayev discussed a possibility of an official visit to Kyrgyzstan during the Ashgabat summit. Its goal is to discuss the situation in the republic's economy and forms of support to be rendered to our industry by Russia. A preliminary date of the visit is set on 20 January. The Kyrgyzstan side is now preparing documents for intergovernment agreements.

Temporary Customs Tariff Resolution Issued

LD0601235494 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Kyrgyz 1700 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Text] In conformity with the law of the Kyrgyz Republic on the customs tariff, and in order to further improve the system of the state regulation of foreign trade as well as to create conditions for the development of interstate economic ties, the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic issued a resolution on the introduction of temporary customs tariffs of the Kyrgyz Republic. The temporary customs tariff of the Kyrgyz Republic was confirmed. Special duties have been introduced temporarily as a precaution against participants of foreign economic activity who violate the interests of the Kyrgyz Republic concerning importing of goods in line with the direct exchange of goods—barter. Tariffs and duties are levied on all exported and imported goods that are included in the appendix to this resolution with the exception of cases envisaged by the laws of the Kyrgyz Republic on customs tariffs and in line with the stipulations of agreements of the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic with foreign countries, companies, and international organizations.

Export customs duties should not be levied when the produce is delivered to those countries that have not adopted a decision on such duties or have abolished previous laws on this topic. The Kyrgyz Ministry of Finance charged with levying customs duties in accordance with the procedures stated by the ministry. Export and import customs duties should be paid before or at the moment of showing the goods to the customs. The Kyrgyz Ministry of Finance can grant the postponement of the payment of export duties for a term of up to 60 days from the moment of showing the goods under a bank's guarantee. Payment of duties for imported goods can be put off for a term of 30 days under a bank's guarantee or property collateral. If duties are not paid, goods will be confiscated. Tariff rates can be changed by the government under relevant circumstances. The government sets, cancels, or lifts tariffs at the recommendation of the duties and tariffs' council of the Kyrgyz Republic. Tariff allowances or preferences are granted only by the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic.

Tajikistan

Rakhmanov Sends Note to UN Head on Afghan Conflict

LD0801112994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1106 GMT 8 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe January 8 TASS—Tajik leader Imamali Rakhmanov has expressed concern over the intensified Afghan internal military and political conflicts in a letter sent on Friday to the U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali. His concern is prompted by the fact that unrest in the neighbouring country has led to new aggravation of the situation on Tajikistan's border with Afghanistan.

The Tajik military point out that a new surge of tension on Tajikistan's border with Afghanistan is due to the deteriorating military and political situation in Afghanistan, where different groups are clashing also in the northern provinces bordering on Tajikistan. It is in these provinces that major Tajik armed opposition forces are concentrated. Taking advantage of the Afghan unrest, they have stepped up their own activity aimed at reaching their own ends.

According to military sources in Dushanbe, the current situation along parts of the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan is increasingly tense because of such armed provocations by Tajik opposition forces acting from the Afghan territory.

Russian border guards early on Saturday suppressed one of the growing number of attempts by groups of opposition militants to cross the border from Afghanistan to Tajikistan towards Shaartuz in the Pyanj border guard detachment zone.

Military sources, however, say more attempts of this kind are likely to follow soon in the same zone. For this reason extra steps are being taken to prevent such attempts. Border troops are being reinforced in the area controlled by the 12th frontier post of the Moscow border guard detachment where armed provocations are on the rise too.

Conflicts Continue Along Afghan Border

Opposition Party Claims Success

LD0701174194 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Tajikistan in Tajik 0600 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Yesterday, heavy clashes took place in one of the posts in Shurobad Rayon, Kulyab Oblast. Military sources in the Islamic Rebirth Party of Tajikistan [words indistinct] report that as a result of these clashes, which continued for (?three hours), 17 government soldiers were killed and even more were wounded. (?One)

armored vehicle and one GAZ-66 vehicle were destroyed. One person from among the mujahidin was also wounded.

The military sources of the Islamic Rebirth of Tajikistan have denied a report by the press office of the Border Forces of Russia to the effect that an armed group of the opposition was forced to turn back from the border. A (?statement) published by the military committee of the Islamic Rebirth Party of Tajikistan says that the mujahidin of the Islamic Rebirth Party of Tajikistan are functioning not along the borders but inside the territory of Tajikistan. [Words indistinct) the border guards have for some time now lost (?control) of the borders and movement across the borders was even easier than to enter the city of Tursunzoda.

'New Provocations' Reported

LD0701100694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0949 GMT 7 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe January 7 TASS—Tajik opposition fighters, based in Afghanistan, have staged new provocations on some sectors of the Tajik-Afghan border.

ITAR-TASS has learned today from military sources that a small gang of Tajik mojaheeds attempted on Thursday to break through the positions of Russian border guards, deployed on the Pyanj sector of the border, heading for Shartuz. However, they were stopped by Russian border guards and men from one of the battalions of the CIS peacekeeping force in Tajikistan and forced back into Afghanistan.

Futile also were the attempts of two small groups of Tajik opposition fighters to illegally cross into Tajikistan through the zone controlled by men of the 12th Russian border post.

According to the same source, Tajik mojaheeds, entrenched in several border provinces of the Islamic state of Afghanistan, have staged several more minor armed provocations since the beginning of January on sectors guarded by the Pyanj and Moskovskiy border-guard detachments. Two violators of the border were killed. There were no casualities among Russian servicemen.

CIS Commander: Situation 'Difficult'

LD0701232294 Moscow Radio Moscow in Russian for Tajikistan 1700 GMT 7 Jan 94

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] At the recent meeting of the council of CIS defense ministers in Ashgabat, it was decided to extend the collective forces' operational period [in Tajikistan] by another year. Thus, our Russian soldiers will be there for another year. Here is the commander of the collective forces, Colonel General Boris Pyankov:

[Begin Pyankov recording] Unfortunately the situation remains difficult. Units, bandit formations, and groups, which penetrate into the territory of Tajikistan with hostile intentions, are making attempts to cross the state frontier almost continually.

The prime purpose of these attempts is reconnaissance, sabotage, and terrorism. And tension is arising as a result of these attempts.

There are also formations which have gone underground in Tajikistan, and I think that they are also, for the time being, not disposed toward keeping the peace.

The most important thing is that, along with the border guards, Tajikistan's national army, and units and elements of the Interior Ministry, the peacekeeping forces have taken steps to guarantee, as far as possible, peaceful conditions for constructive work in Tajikistan. [end recording]

Missiles Hit Moscow Border Guard Post

LD0901145294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1327 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] Another missile strike has hit the positions of the 13th Moscow border guard contingent in Tajikistan. On Sunday, at 10:35am, local time, seven missiles were launched against the border guard station from the Tajik territory, INTERFAX was told by a spokesman for the headquarters of the Russian border troops in Tajikistan.

On Saturday, at 3pm, local time, five missiles were launched against the 13th border station of the Moscow border guard contingent.

On Saturday, at 6pm, local time, Russian border guards of the 12th Moscow contingent curbed the attempt by seven gunmen to penetrate inside the territory of Tajikistan. During the clash three attackers were killed. There were no casualties among the Russian border guards.

The deputy commander of the Russian border guard troops, General Anatoliy Parakhin has told INTERFAX that, as Russian border guards forecast earlier, during the winter period more small groups will cross the border to get ready for the spring offensive on the territory of Tajikistan.

Uzbekistan

Karimov Concludes Visit to India

LD0501184394 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1225 GMT 5 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Zaytsev]

[Text] Delhi, 5 Jan—President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan left for home today on completion of a three-day official visit to India.

The visit by the president of Uzbekistan, which is being described here as "most successful and productive," was crowned with the signing of an agreement on the principles of development of economic ties and all-round cooperation. Five other agreements and memoranda setting out the thrust of Indian-Uzbek cooperation in various fields were also concluded.

Karimov Meets With Pakistani Foreign Minister

BK0801151294 Islamabad PTV Television Network in English 1400 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] The foreign minister, Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali, now on a visit to the Central Asian countries, has held wide-ranging talks in Tashkent with the Uzbek president, Mr. Islam Karimov. During the 90-minute meeting, they exchanged views on regional situation and bilateral relations. Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali briefed President Karimov on the explosive situation in Kashmir and drew his attention to the massive human right violations being committed by Indian security forces in occupied Kashmir, especially the custodial deaths. He emphasized that the liberation movement in the Indian-held Kashmir cannot be characterized as terrorism. He also apprised the Uzbek president about the recent Pakistan-India foreign secretary-level talks which were unproductive due to Indian intransigence.

On the Afghanistan situation, Pakistan and Uzbekistan shared the view that the situation there is volatile. Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali briefed the Uzbek leader about Pakistan's continuing efforts to revive the process of conciliation for a lasting political settlement. They agreed that the continuing turmoil in Afghanistan poses a serious threat to regional peace and stability.

President Karimov expressed his country's keen interest in the development of road links between Pakistan and Uzbekistan via Afghanistan. The two countries are expected to reinvigorate the process of consultation within the framework of the Pakistan-Afghan-Uzbek memorandum of understanding. On bilateral matters, the Uzbek president conveyed his full support to strengthen bilateral cooperation with Pakistan in every field.

Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali also held talks with his Uzbek counterpart, Mr. Saidmukhtar Saidqasymov. The two sides had a detailed review of bilateral issues and mutual cooperation in diverse areas of bilateral interest, including cooperation in the field of antiterrorism and antinarcotics. Uzbekistan also indicated its desire to open its embassy in Islamabad. Mr. Saidqasymov will be visiting Pakistan shortly at the invitation of Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali. Today the foreign minister is holding substantive talks with the Uzbek deputy prime minister and minister for foreign economic relations.

Karimov Tightens Rules for Collective Farms

LD0801214194 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2100 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Islam Karimov, the president of Uzbekistan, has issued a decree confirming model rules for collective farms. The document makes changes to the procedure for electing farm leaders. From now on, collective farmers are deprived of the right to independently nominate candidates for election to collective farm chairmen at general meetings. This can only be done by the district head of administration. Without his permission, the members of the farm also have no right to remove the chairman from his post. According to INTERFAX, over the last two years the number of collective farms in Uzbekistan has doubled.

Inflation Reaches 1,000 Percent in 1993

LD0701213494 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Last year's inflation rate in Uzbekistan reached 1,000 percent because of excessive money supply and the shortage of consumer goods, an Uzbekistan senior banking official told INTERFAX. Minimal wages, pensions, and grants increased sevenfold in 1993 and their volume by 350-fold compared with 1990, and average wages rose 320-fold, according to Uzbekistan's State Committee for Statistics.

No Independent Newspapers Registered

LD0901145694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1327 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] With the new registration campaign ending in Uzbekistan, no independent newspaper owned by its staff has been registered by the state committee for the press.

The five leading dailies were registered under the aegis of the Supreme Soviet and the government, President Karimov's People's Democratic Party (formerly communist) and the republican support fund for the press established under a presidential decree. Regional governments have become founders of local newspapers.

Armenia

Karabakh Denies Azeri Claims of Success

NC0701153494 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Despite the conspicuous failures and considerable loss in men and material on the fronts in recent days, the Azerbaijani authorities are adamantly continuing to put out disinformation about alleged advances by the Azerbaijani National Army.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Defense Army headquarters reports that in fact the Azerbaijani National Army's renewed large-scale offensive along the Karabakh-Azerbaijan conflict line has again failed. According to preliminary reports, Karabakh Army units basically maintained their defensive positions during fighting which has been taking place all along the front line since the early hours of 7 January, and in certain sectors they even launched counterattacks and ousted the enemy from the captured positions. There are dead and injured on both sides. Casualty figures are being determined, but the losses suffered by Azerbaijani side are several times greater.

The battles were still continuing as of 1200 today.

Details of Border Shelling

NC0701192794 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Today, the Azerbaijani Army units again disrupted the peace on Armenia's border. Armenian Defense Ministry press service reported that there was intense enemy howitzer fire at the defensive positions around Vahan in Krasnoselskiy Rayon at about 1000. The Armenian side did not retaliate. There were no casualties on our side. No other incidents have taken place along the rest of the border since last night.

Fierce battles are continuing along almost the entire Karabakh confrontation line. Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Defense Army press service reported that though the Azerbaijanis have made certain insignificant advances, the Karabakh troops are managing to halt enemy attacks in some sectors of the front. The enemy is trying at all costs to break through the Armenian defensive lines at some point, and is therefore launching attacks and sustaining heavy losses. Nearly 3,000 Azerbaijani troops and officers have been killed during the incessant battles since 18 December. More than 70 fighters were killed on the Karabakh side during that same period.

The Azerbaijanis launched attacks in the eastern and southern sectors of the front this morning, but Armenian forces are repulsing them.

'Unexpected' Quiet Reported

NC0801122894 Yerevan SNARK in English 1014 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Stepanakert, January 8 (SNARK)—The unexpected quietness exists at the Karabakh front from the last night. The military experts are of the opinion that quietness is caused by the new Azerbaijani detachments movements into the zone of military clashes. Meanwhile, Press-Service of the Defense Army told yesterday evening the Azerbaijani detachment managed to capture some frontiers and hills at the Iranian border. At the Martuni and Mardakert directions the Karabakh forces met success, Azeris had losses: 80 Azerbaijani soldiers and officers, 2 tanks and a military machine.

Offensive Launched Around Agdam

NC0901115894 Paris AFP in English 1107 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Excerpt] Yerevan, Jan 9 (AFP)—The Azerbaijani Army launched a major two-pronged offensive in Nagorno-Karabakh on Sunday, as fighting continued around the Armenian-controlled town of Agdam, the enclave's separatist army headquarters said.

The Azerbaijani forces, backed by armoured vehicles, were heading toward Mardekert in northern Nagorno-Karabakh and toward Askeran in the east, some 30 kilometres (18 miles) from the capital Stepanakert, the army headquarters said.

Heavy fighting was also continuing around Agdam, a strategic Azerbaijani town two kilometres east of the Nagorno-Karabakh border, which was captured by Armenian separatists six months ago.

The Stepanakert headquarters confirmed that Goradiz, a key town near the Iranian-Azerbaijani border, had been recaptured by the Azerbaijani Army.

But it denied Baku's claim Saturday that Azerbaijan controlled the road linking Goradiz and Fizuli, on the southern border of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Armenian separatists had "succeeded in halting the Azerbaijani offensive" in that area, the headquarters said.

Parliament Head Departs for Nagorno-Karabakh

NC0701150594 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Babken Ararktsyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Council, left for a working visit to Nagorno-Karabakh Republic on 6 January.

A delegation headed by the Armenian Deputy Prime Minister Vigen Chitechyan left Yerevan for the United States. The Armenian delegation will hold talks with Boeing Aviation Company in Seattle.

President Calls For Meeting on Privatization

NC0701195794 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Today, the Armenian president has issued a decree on convening an extraordinary session of the Armenian Supreme Council. The decree says: Guided by Point 5 of Article 8 of the Armenian Republic Law on the Armenian Presidency, I hereby decide to convene an extraordinary session of the Armenian Supreme Council at 1000 on 12 January 1994 with the following agenda:

1. The 1994 program for the privatization and denationalization of the Armenian Republic's state enterprises and unfinished construction projects.

2. Confirmation of the president of the Armenian Republic's Central Bank and his first deputy.

Moves Made To Restore Gas Supply

NC0701193994 Yerevan SNARK in English 1528 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Yerevan, January 7 (SNARK)—Not one cubic meter of gas has arrives to Armenia for a week after New Year. SNARK was informed about it by Press-Center of Armenia's Government.

Meanwhile, Vladimir Manoyan, the chief of the Press-Center, said Roland Adonts, the chief of "Armgasprom" (Armenian Gas Industry) state company, is in Marneulinskiy Region of Georgia, where the gas main was damaged.

It has been reported already about the meeting of vice-premiers of the three Transcaucasian republics at the Azerbaijani-Georgian border. However, it didn't lead to the opening of gas main, supplying Armenia with gas.

Azerbaijan

Defense Ministry Reports on Fighting in Fizuli

LD0701173294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1625 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] On Friday morning Armenian formations supported by armored vehicles made fruitless attempts to return their positions in Azerbaijan's south lost the day before, a source in Azerbaijan's Defense Ministry reported to Interfax.

As Baku asserts, on January 6 the Armenians left the village of Goradiz and several more populated centers in Azerbaijan's Fizuli region.

Interfax interlocutor underlined that as a result of liberation of the village of Goradiz the blockade of the Nachichevan autonomous republic, a part of Azerbaijan which has not common borders with it, has been softened. In his words, vitally important shipments, including fuel and food products, can be carried out via this rail way junction to the autonomy along the Iranian territory.

The source has reported that a tank and a motor vehicle assigned to the headquarters of the southern grouping of the Karabakh forces were destroyed in the course of hostilities on January 7.

According to this source, the Azerbaijani army has managed to regain control over the 40-kilometer section of the Azerbaijani- Iranian border.

Meanwhile, Stepanakert has failed to reconfirm the information about the loss of the village of Goradiz.

Further Details; 200 Killed

NC0701184294 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Defense Ministry press service provided the following information on 7 January. Despite sustaining crushing blows in various sectors of the front in recent days, the Armenian Armed Forces are not giving up their occupationist plans, and are trying to breach the defensive positions of the Azerbaijani Army. Their efforts in this direction are being brought to naught thanks to the gallantry of our fighters; and the enemy is retreating, while sustaining enormous losses.

Our brave fighters destroyed more than 200 enemy troops and more than 50 armored vehicles in fighting today. The fleeing Armenians, who were chased out of the positions they had previously occupied, are leaving behind considerable amounts of military hardware and provisions. The gallant Azerbaijani Army once again showed its strength to the enemy.

Parliament Chief Guliyev Visits Front

NC0701190394 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Our correspondent Keval Kemal Serdarogly reports from the front that Rasul Guliyev, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, has been touring the hot spots at the fronts for the last three days.

Rasul Guliyev visited the battle positions in Beylagan, Agdzhabedinskiy, and Agdamskiy rayons yesterday and inquired about the situation. He met with the soldiers, then visited the medical detachment and acquainted himself with the condition of the injured.

Rasul Guliyev visited the battle positions in Terterskiy and Agdamskiy rayons today and held a brief meeting with the commanders.

Rasul Guliyev's tour of the front regions is continuing.

Situation'Extremely Tense'

LD0801133594 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] The situation on all fronts of the Karabakh conflict remains extremely tense. A very serious situation has developed in the southern sector where the Azeri Army has concentrated large forces, including armored vehicles, and is carrying out attacks on positions occupied by the Karabakh self-defense forces. By the evening of 7 January, they had succeeded in breaking through the Karabakh lines of defense and had taken up a number of positions along the Iranian border.

Fighting continues with variable success in the north of the Mardakert rayon and in the eastern Martuni rayon where sub-units of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] defense army are holding out against enemy advances, and is inflicting substantial losses of personnel and equipment.

The Azeri Army losses suffered in the fighting on 7 January were more than 80 men and officers, two tanks, and one armored vehicle. There are also losses on the Karabakh side.

During the night and in the morning of 8 January the situation was relatively calm on all fronts. According to information from the NKR defense army headquarters, the Azeri command is drawing up new forces in order to resume its advance on the whole front. This was a Russian Information Agency report.

Army Controls Goradiz-Fizuli Road

LD0801115094 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1117 GMT 8 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 8 Jan—The large Goradiz railway station in the southwest of Azerbaijan was completely cleared of Armenian armed units today. According to the press service of Azerbaijan's Defense Ministry, subunits of the Azerbaijani Army have taken under control the highway linking Goradiz with Fizuli.

Armenian Border Offensive Reported

LD0901120194 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Jan 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Interfax reports from the zone of the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict that yesterday and overnight Armenian subunits attempted a large-scale offensive. According to the Azerbaijan Defense Ministry, an offensive began yesterday evening and overnight in the direction of the populated areas of Bagbanlar, Marzili [several km southeast of Agdam], and Papravend [on border with Nagorno-Karabakh, north of Agdam].

At present, defensive battles are continuing there. At the same time, Nagorno-Karabakh's defense army press service reports that the Azerbaijani Army began an offensive this morning in the north and northeastern part of Mardakert Rayon in Nagorno-Karabakh. The Azerbaijani forces are using armored equipment and airplanes. Both sides are suffering casualties as a result of these battles.

Karabakh Forces Hold Off Offensive

LD0901150994 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Although the Azerbaijani side is employing large amounts of armaments and aircraft, the Karabakh forces are managing to hold out. In the southern part of the front, where the Azerbaijani troops managed to break though the defense line, the situation has somewhat stabilized. Positional fighting is taking place here. The situation at the northwestern border of Nagorno-Karabakh and in Kelbadzhar Rayon remains relatively calm.

Fighting Locations, Losses Detailed

LD1001134794 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1219 GMT 10 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jan—The Azerbaijani Army resumed its offensive along the entire Karabakh front at 0700 [0400 GMT]. ITAR-TASS was told on the telephone by the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic defense army headquarters that the fighting is particularly heavy in the Mardakert Rayon of Nagorno-Karabakh. On Sunday evening the Azerbaijani Army lost over 50 men killed, two tanks, and an APC during its offensive near the village of Magadiz. Karabakh's losses amounted to three killed and five wounded.

According to reports received by 1300, the situation on all sectors of the front remains tense and battles are continuing.

Official Cited on Need for Relations With Russia

LD0901115694 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1000 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] Ramiz Rzayev, Azerbaijan's plenipotentiary representative in Moscow, said during a talk with the correspondent of [word indistinct] agency that Azerbaijan must keep close political relations with Russia. Speaking about the cooperation plans of the two countries for 1994, he said that there were close economic ties between Azerbaijan and Russia and these ties must be restored .

Speaking about the question of Karabakh, Ramiz Rzayev said that the Armenian side must first of all leave all the occupied territory.

Aliyev Confers With Russian Forces Commander

LD0701180194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1625 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev has received commander of the Group of Russian Forces in Transcaucasus Lieutenant General Fedor Reut, on a working visit in Baku.

In the course of their conversation the parties discussed issues related to regulation of transport communications' functioning in Transcaucasia and, in particular, in Azerbaijan.

Aliyev pointed out that aggression being waged by Armenia against the republic seriously affects normal functioning of transport and energy communications in Azerbaijan.

The president reported that at present almost the whole section of the border between Azerbaijan and Armenia is a battlefield and it is very difficult to restore normal functioning of the communications in this zone.

Meanwhile, Azerbaijan's Cabinet of Ministers told Interfax that Baku had declined a proposal to organize a meeting of Transcaucasian states' vice premiers on the border of three countries to discuss security of the gas-main laid via Georgia's territory to Armenia. In 1993 this gas-main was subjected to numerous explosions on the territory of Georgia's Marneul region which is predominantly inhabited by the Azerbaijanis. The last explosion occurred on December 18.

Azerbaijan explained its rejection to participate in this meeting by the fact that it has nothing to do with these subversive acts.

Views 'Peaceful Solution'

NC0701171994 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0400 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Azerbaijan's leaders have reiterated their view that a peaceful solution must be found to end the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan and called for the Armenian Armed Forces' immediate and unconditional withdrawal from the areas they have occupied. President Aliyev outlined this when he received Colonel General Fedor Reut, commander of the Transcaucasian group of Russia's troops, at his request on 6 January.

President Aliyev said the illusions of Armenia's extremist circles, which believe the occupationist forces will remain in the territory they have occupied in Azerbaijan indefinitely, are meaningless. He asserted: Azerbaijan can and will safeguard its sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the nonviolation of its border. But we believe the dispute, which has continued for nearly six years, is meaningless. So, we call for obstructing unnecessary bloodshed and killing.

President Aliyev also asserted: CIS resources must be used to achieve that; the organization was not established just to solve economic problems. It also has political and military responsibilities. We have signed the agreement on collective security. The CIS must not remain inactive in the face of aggression by one member against another. On behalf of Azerbaijan, which is a sovereign republic, I brought the issue to the attention of the participants at the Ashgabat summit. As the commander of Russia's troops in the Transcaucasus, you must contribute to the effort to halt Armenia's continuing aggression against Azerbaijan.

Geydar Aliyev said: Russia has military bases and units under your command in Georgia and Armenia. Many of our kin live miserably in several rayons in Georgia. We have received serious information that they are being unjustly treated. We have held talks with Georgia's leaders. A great tragedy may emerge if the negative developments are not stopped. The incidents in Karabakh confirm that. Stability must be established in the region at all costs.

According to President Aliyev, Russia's military units in the Transcaucasus and Russia must play a significant role in arranging relations among the republics in the Transcaucasus. He said: The [word indistinct] of Russia's troops in Armenia has a military status. Azerbaijan and Russia are members of the same alliance. We are independent countries. I have the legal and moral right to make my request. I wish to unofficially stress that Azerbaijan's leaders have received information that Russia's military units in Armenia have helped that republic's military forces in various ways. But considering our friendly relations with Russia, Azerbaijan will spare no effort to facilitate the transit of freight through our republic for Russia's military forces in Armenia. Information we have received that the freight, fuel in particular, is falling into the hands of the Armenian military forces makes us very uneasy.

Gen. Reut described his talks with Aliyev as a very important development. He said Russia's political and military leaders support the effort to find a peaceful solution to the dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Without directly referring to the points raised by Aliyev, Gen. Reut said the dispute in the region has made everyone, including Russia's military forces, very uneasy. He said that they too are forced to live under conditions of war. Gen. Reut stressed that he has arrived in Azerbaijan to ask the Republic's leaders to facilitate the uninterrupted transit of military echelons [last word in English] travelling to Armenia through Baku.

Deputy Prime Minister Abbas Abbasov and Defense Minister Mamed Rafi Mamedov attended the meeting.

Further on Meeting

LD0701140794 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] [Announcer Sergey Vozyanov] Colonel General Fedor Reut, the commander of the Group of Russian

Forces in the Transcaucasus, is continuing his visit to Azerbaijan. He has had a meeting with Geydar Aliyev, the president of Azerbaijan. Aliyev noted that active fighting is in progress at the moment, but it was not initiated by the Azerbaijani side. For a month now, he said, plans are being hatched for the annexation of further Azerbaijani land. Addressing Fedor Reut, the president called on the Russian side to promote a peaceful settlement of the question of Azerbaijan's territorial integrity. Aliyev also asked for help in defending the 600,000-strong Azerbaijani community in Georgia, which is being subjected to attack by criminal elements. That was a report from the ANI news agency.

Bayramov Appointed Chief of Military Operations

NC0901180994 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] President Geydar Aliyev has ordered the appointment of Colonel Mikhail Bakhadir ogly Bayramov as chief of the Azerbaijan Ministry of Defense's Military Operations Department.

'Gangsters' Reportedly Plunder Food Supply Trains

NC0701194194 Baku TURAN in English 1803 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Baku (January 7) TURAN—The conductors of the passenger train number 93 Moscow-Baku refused to work at the Minirealniye Vodi-Derbent sector of the rout because of the attacks of the gangsters at the train in Chechnia.

Train number 93 is attached to the Moscow Railroad Department. Besides the train N93 there is also train N 5 Baku-Moscow attached to Azerbaijan Railroad Department .

As the deputy-chief of Azerbaijan Railroad Department Musa Panakhov said the train N 93 will be definitely canceled.

He also said that during October-November 1993 1000 Azerbaijani carriages loaded with food products were plundered at the territory of Chechnia.

Georgia

Press Secretariat Confirms Gamsakhurdia's Death

LD0701183094 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1816 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Tbilisi, 7 Jan (GIA-TASS)—The press secretariat of the head of the Georgian state made the following announcement this evening:

"By order of the head of the Georgian state, appropriate groups from the law enforcement authorities are currently in Groznyy, and in those regions of western Georgia where the death of Zviad Gamsakhurdia is preliminarily thought to have taken place.

"According to information received from the wife of Z. Gamsakhurdia in Groznyy, Manana Archvadze, from a deputy to the former Supreme Soviet wishing to remain unidentified, and from other witnesses, reports of the death and burial of Z. Gamsakhurdia are confirmed, but witnesses are not yet stating the place of burial."

The press secretary of the head of the Georgian state has the authority to say that there were no military operations or any other military actions in the region where the incident with Gamsakhurdia could have taken place.

The head of state, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, said, if Gamsakhurdia's corpse is found, Georgia is ready to receive representatives and specialists from appropriate international organizations of any level to carry out the necessary examination of the body by specialists. As for the situation in Georgia, according to Eduard Shevardnadze, "this fact will not have any effect on the political or any other situation."

The group of investigators that are currently in Groznyy have reported that the wife of the ex-president demands that Zviad Gamsakhurdia should be reburied in Groznyy.

Groups of investigators are working at the location to carry out the necessary measures."

Shevardnadze Not To Oppose Tbilisi Burial

LD0701172294 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1630 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Georgia's leader Eduard Shevardnadze has no objection to the possibility of ex-president Zviad Gamsakhurdia being buried in Tbilisi; but he is of the view that the Georgian people will be against it. Interfax learned today from a highly-placed official in Chechnya's foreign ministry who has been in the Georgian capital as part of a republican delegation. At meanwhile, an enquiry group from Georgia, which has arrived in the west of the republic, has not yet found any evidence to confirm allegations that Zviad Gamsakhurdia committed suicide or was murdered.

Wife Refuses To Hand Over Body

LD0801115394 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1045 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Groznyy, 8 Jan—An IBERIA correspondent learned that Manana Archvadze, the wife of Georgia's former president, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, said in a conversation with journalists that she had spoken with the men who had personally witnessed how Zviad Gamsakhurdia had ended his life by committing a suicide.

"However sad it may be, we have a 100

proof of this fact", said Manana Archvadze-Gamsakhurdia.

According to her, the body of the deceased is in a secure place and she is waiting for the right moment which will make it possible to bury Zviad Gamsakhurdia's corpse in Groznyy.

Manana Archvadze refused to meet the representatives of Georgia's law enforcement bodies as, according to her, they would force her to hand over Zviad Gamsakhurdia's corpse for an examination; the results of which, Eduard Shevardnadze would use to his own advantage.

Said To Have Died in Georgia

LD0801154794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] A team of criminal investigators working in Groznyy, capital of the Russian republic of Chechnya, has come to the conclusion that deposed Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia died on Georgian territory, said the head of the team, Zurab Dzhordzhikia.

According to his widow, the ex-president shot himself in western Georgia on December 31.

Dzhordzhikia, senior assistant to Georgia's prosecutor general, told INTERFAX no evidence had been found to prove the reports that Gamsakhurdia had been wounded in Chechnya.

Dzhordzhikia said two witnesses of Gamsakhurdia's death had been found. One of them is in Chechnya, but it has been impossible to contact him, for Gamsakhurdia's family, living in Groznyy, objects to this, Dzhordzhikia said.

He said President Dzhokhar Dudayev of Chechnya had given a "good and friendly" reception to the Georgian investigators. The latter, who include staff from the Prosecutor General's Office and the Interior and Security Ministries, had an hour-and-a-half-long meeting with Dudayev, who promised them whatever help they might need, Dzhordzhikia said.

The investigators also met Merab Kiknadze, a member of the former Georgian parliament, who said the Gamsakhurdia family objected to a post mortem.

It is still unknown where the ex-president is buried, but the Tbilisi team has had a letter from his widow, Manana Gamsakhurdia, who, "on behalf of the whole family of the deceased president," asks for his body to be buried in Chechnya, "where his family has lived in exile for the past two years." She has made the same request to Dudayev.

Wife Asks Chechnya To Be Mediator

LD0801120794 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1045 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Groznyy, 8 Jan—An aide to Chechnya's president yesterday told an IBERIA correspondent in a telephone conversation that Zviad Gamsakhurdia's wife, Manana Archvadze appealed to the Chechen government to act as a mediator with the Georgian government in clarifying the matters connected with the death of Georgia's former president.

Dzhokhar Dudayev's aide also said that Chechnya's president had agreed that independent experts are participating in the clarification of the above-mentioned matter which Zviad Gamsakhurdia's wife, Manana Archvadze, assesses negatively.

It was noted during the conversation that the Chechen government had consented to Manana Archvadze's wish that the former president be buried in Chechnya.

The representatives of the Georgian procurator's office are currently visiting Chechnya where they met Dudayev in connection with the above-mentioned matter.

Said Buried in Mountains

LD0901195194 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] Our correspondent today met the vice premier of Georgia, Irakli Menagharishvili.

[Begin recording] [Menagharishvili] The Georgian authorities did everything in their power in order to establish the truth. You know that a special investigatory group has been sent to Samegrelo region, west Georgia, and another investigatory group comprising the representatives of the prosecutor's office, and the Security and Interior Ministries has left together with the representatives of the Chechen authorities for Groznyy. They tried there to meet the witness who, according to the Chechen authorities, had witnessed the fact of Gamsakhurdia's death. Unfortunately, this meeting did not take place and the witness has not said yet where the former president is buried.

Our representatives in Chechnya learned only that Zviad Gamsakhurdia's corpse had been buried in a mountainous zone of Samegrelo, approximately in the rayon which is still being controlled by one of the armed groups of his supporters, therefore, the authorities do not yet have a possibility to establish the truth by going to the scene.

The official version about the alleged besieging of the former president and his suicide is doubtful to us as during the recent weeks no combat or search operations for finding him have taken place and accordingly, this statement raises serious doubts.

The demands which our authorities put to the supporters of the former president are that the supporters officially legalize the burial place of the deceased so that the official authorities have a possibility to establish the truth—what had happened, and the relevant examination be carried out followed by a traditionally accepted routine.

Unfortunately, we have not yet received a positive answer to all these demands and therefore, we have no possibility to tell the public more details.

[Unidentified correspondent] If the Georgian authorities in the long run get a positive answer to this demand, and if all these doubts are confirmed, where will Georgia's former president be buried?

[Menagharishvili] It has already been officially announced that we are unanimous in thinking that the burial place of the former president, whether he is buried in Tbilisi or somewhere else, must be chosen solely by his family. It has always been a tradition in our society and nobody is going to break this rule. [end recording]

[Announcer] Based on Irakli Menagharishvili's words, we shall add that in case of a necessity, the Georgian authorities undertake the responsibility of reburying the corpse, provided that a qualified forensic examination is carried out and that every interested party as well as foreign experts are given a possibility to take part in the examination.

Dudayev Refused Examination of Body

LD0901152494 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0300 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] According to reports by CHECHENPRESS, the Chechen state news agency, President Dzhokhar Dudayev demanded to carry out an examination of Gamsakhurdia's body but was refused permission by Manana Archvadze, the former president's wife.

To Be Buried in Chechnya

LD1001150794 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1349 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] Groznyy, 10 Dec (CHECHENPRESS-TASS)—The body of Georgian ex-president Zviad Gamsakhurdia will be buried in Chechnya, Shamsuddin Yusef, the Chechen Republic's foreign minister announced at a briefing in Groznyy today. He added that this was in accordance with the wishes of Gamsakhurdia's family. According to Shamsuddin Yusef, necessary permission for burying the ex-president in Chechnya has been received from the Georgian leadership.

Government To Propose Peace Plan in Geneva

LD0701160894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Aleksandr Kavsadze, Chairman of the Georgian Ethnic Relations and Human Rights Committee, said that the Georgian delegation has a package of peace proposals for the Georgian-Abkhazian talks that are scheduled to be held in Geneva on January 11.

Kavsadze, who is a member of the Georgian delegation, told Interfax that the return of refugees to Abkhazia rather than the political structure of that republic would dominate the talks. "Abkhazia's autonomy is not questioned. It is the shape of its statehood that will be discussed by the Georgian Constitutional Commission and the whole people of the republic," he said.

On the other hand, he continued, the Georgian delegation can expect anything in Geneva even though UN, CSCE and Russian officials who will attend the talks want the conflict to be resolved by political means.

In his words, if the talks are impassed, "we will have to protect the national interests by force. We have the right to do this because the conflict in Abkhazia is an internal affair." Kavsadze placed the blame for the possible failure of the talks squarely on the Abkhazian authorities.

He did not agree that Georgia would be in the position of a country which lost the war at the talks. He said that "there will be no winners or losers in this war" because "both Georgians and Abkhazians lost it, for this is a war within a country."

The Georgian negotiators in Geneva will be headed by Chairman of the Emergency Committee Jaba Ioseliani and the Abkhazian negotiators, by Prime Minister Sokrat Jinjoliya.

Kavsadze on Geneva Talks

LD0801172994 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1539 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] The second round of talks on the peaceful settlement of the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict will be held in Geneva on 11 January. In this connection, Aleksandre Kavsadze, chairman of the Georgian committee for inter-ethnic relations and human rights, has stated that Georgia is opposed to the examination of the future state system of Abkhazia at the Geneva talks. He said that the state system of Abkhazia is Georgia's internal problem and that it is now being examined by the republic's Constitutional Commission.

Mr. Kavsadze believes that the subject of the Geneva talks should be the future of the Georgian refugees who left Abkhazia last year.

Delegation Leaves for Geneva

LD0901142494 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1343 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] Tbilisi, 9 Jan, (GIA-TASS)—A delegation led by Jaba Ioseliani, chairman of the provisional committee for the state of emergency, has left for Geneva for the second round of Georgian-Abkhazian talks. A report distributed today through the channels of the Georgian Information Agency says that the delegation includes Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Ukhleba, Aleksandr Kavsadze, chairman of the Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Inter- Ethnic Relations, Professor Levan Aleksidze, Zurab Lomashvili, deputy director of

the Department for International Organizations, and state adviser Shalva Pichkhadze.

Shevardnadze, Minister Deny Russians in Tbilisi

LD0801193894 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Jan 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpts] For several days the Georgians have been preoccupied with two sensational news stories: first is the death of Gamsakhurdia, and the second, even more powerful, is that, according to rumors, 25,000 Russian troops have been brought into Georgia and are stationed in Tbilisi, near the Vaziani military airfield. To be honest, the people are more interested in Gamsakhurdia's suicide. [passage omitted]

As for the introduction of 25,000 Russian soldiers, the best informed person—Georgia's Security Minister Igor Georgadze—has given us an answer to this question:

[Georgadze] As for 25,000 Russian soldiers being stationed on Georgian territory, I can tell you with full responsibility that this does not correspond to reality.

[Correspondent] Georgia's Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze was simply shocked by this question. He said the following:

[Shevardnadze] Rumors are being circulated abroad that order is being poorly maintained in Tbilisi, and so why don't we call in the Russians and get them to organize a normal life for us? I think this is simply farcical. [Video shows correspondent reporting from Tbilisi, officials being interviewed]

Goguadze Calls For Ties With Russia, CIS

LD0901233794 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Speech by Supreme Council Speaker Vakhtang Goguadze to television viewers and Supreme Council deputies on the occasion of Christmas from the studio in Tbilisi on 9 January—recorded]

[Text] Dear television viewers, Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year! I wish you joy and happiness. As you know, our parliament will not resume its work until 18 January, and there are some acute, pressing issues that have to be discussed by both the deputies and the public as a whole. Therefore, let me address you and the members of the Georgian parliament with a short speech.

Dear colleagues, friends. Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. I wish you happiness, together with Georgia. If Georgia is not happy, then God forbid our happiness.

We have lived several months through an illusion reminiscent of a temporary mitigation of acute pain through the use of painkillers. The war with the invaders has stopped by our joining the CIS. A definite chance for our survival has emerged. We must use every minute, but we are still slow. Once again, we are facing the danger of physical self-destruction, and we are watching with folded arms how intense Cain-like actions are becoming. There still is the fear: What if we lose the title of a patriot? What if I do not come across as a good man?

The question is whether the country and the people are going to survive. It is a question of life and death. All of us have forgotten that we are living in an age of technical civilization, when the global danger of destruction is greater than ever before. If a long time used to be needed to destroy a country, now it requires only a matter of hours. I do not mean a weapon of mass destruction.

Georgia has lost thousands of lives in recent years. We have over 200,000 refugees. Georgia has suffered huge financial losses. The country that was built badly—or maybe well—has been destroyed. Marriage and birth rates have dwindled dramatically. Drug addiction is on the rampage. Children's lives and health are in danger. The hereditary potential of the nation is in danger. Every normal citizen must think of only one thing: to save the country somehow from the current catastrophic process of autogenocide. Those who think that this is just excessive panic have ambition that is more important to them than the fate of the country.

I may be mistaken, but there is no time for doubts now. Waiting and useless postponement is the evil today. It is not like me to look for the culprit who drove the country to this state and to blame someone or a group of people. We must stop passing the buck if we want to avoid the fate of the Biblical [word indistinct]. Yes, we are all to blame for whatever has happened to us. God will judge us for our sins very soon. It is the punishment for a lie. If we do not stop telling lies, then our judgment will continue. It is clear. All it takes is normal reasoning, an elemental conscience, and a sense of responsibility.

The war has changed its face today. It has been socially reincarnated. Our own compatriots—by carrying out a sabotage—are trying to slit those vital arteries that are still pulsating, to break the power and engineering system, to get hold of fuel, and to deprive the country of a possibility for life. The country is being brutally murdered by bandits wearing either ties or guns. The treasury has been destroyed. In effect, we are a country that does not have money. People are dying of hunger. Children and women have become miserable and poor. Moral norms, which still exist, are dwindling day by day. If Davit Guramishvili [Georgian poet] were looking at our conditions today, he would forget the trouble that Georgia was living through in his time. We all know it very well.

What will save us? Only telling the truth. We must give our condition a name and an accurate diagnosis and think about tomorrow. Before we say something, compare the thought with the inner voice of our conscience. I will tell you directly what nearly 99 percent of the

population thinks, but not a single percent says what they are thinking aloud. I will tell you what I have to say, irrespective of what you do. Trample me over or embellish me with different epithets of a traitor. I prefer to die rather than live such life. Therefore, do not let anybody think that I will be afraid. Neither should they think that they will traditionally go down in history as patriots or traitors. This time it will be God who will decide who is a traitor.

God forgive me for using his name so frequently, but even a poisoned atheist must see now that God is near us, and he is not stroking us but is here with fire and a sword because we are telling lies and are lying to the country. If we do not comprehend this, then more disaster will come. It is wrong to say what additional disaster can happen to us.

By joining the CIS, we have made one step forward toward Russia, and Russia toward us. They are not throwing their hats up in the air exclaiming: What happiness! Georgia has honored us! Russia is telling us directly that she will move forward to us by as many steps as we move toward her. We will be your brothers if you want to be our brothers.

We are talking with Russia by issuing ultimatums, however. We can talk to Russia in the language of brotherhood and trust, and it will be more honorable. Personally, I will be proud to be Russia's brother, but those who will not probably have a better brother. I will tell you honestly that we will not find a more reliable brother than Russia. There are no states or families who do not have brothers or allies.

I call on you to talk to Russia in the same language as the great Ilya Chavchavadze [Georgian 19th century writer] used to talk to Russia. Ilya is more alive today than any of us is alive. I call on you to talk to Russia in the language of trust and friendship. If we are late, however, then we will cease to exist. If we were to survive, then nobody would want to be our brother. Let us talk to Russia in the same way as our fathers and grandfathers did. Russia saved us once. She united a country torn asunder. If we do not admit it, then let me remind you that God does not like either an ungrateful man or people. It is a Biblical truth.

I know that I will irritate you, but may you be irritated. I would rather kneel before Russia than see my people kneel. If somebody else has a talent to do the contrary, then may God judge them. I support talking to Russia in the language of brotherhood, trust, and openness. I am asking her to support my country actively in order to save it and to help get to its feet.

I would like to ask those who have a different view not to waste time by talking about my treachery but to give us, not an alternative for Georgia's heroic self-destruction, but a specific program for saving Georgia honorably.

I will be more specific. Let those who have a different view present to us an alternative view, but not the traditional rigmarole like: Some resolution must be found. Let them present only specific views.

The issue of joining the ruble zone must be put on the agenda as soon as possible. I am not sure whether we will be accepted, but we must try. We are the country where there is no money, and there are no salaries. History has not seen a country without money for a long time. If anybody knows of other financial sources and possibilities, then I admire him. I will remind you once again. I am talking specifically about cash and not an indulgence. Clever politicians will favor this point of view, but those people whose pockets are lined with dollars and rubles will, of course, oppose it. They are making a mistake here, however, because their dollars or rubles will go down the drain if the country is destroyed.

Those who say that order can only be maintained by using law- enforcement bodies are mistaken because a penniless policemen is a potential bandit and maybe a real one. A hungry policeman will be thinking of getting food, and he will not be thinking about high ideals and state order.

Deputies, it must not be difficult either for you or for Russia to guess about the tragic state of the author of these lines. I wanted and still want the kind of Georgia that will be able, not only to defend itself, but also to defend others. I repeat: Georgia has to be saved today. I call on all of you to stop labelling me and to think about the way to save Georgia, a way that can be seen.

Vakhtang Goguadze. Thank you for your attention.

Cabinet Cuts Military Spending By 20 Percent

LD0801160794 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1045 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Tbilisi, 8 Jan—IBERIA news agency has learned that the military expenditure has been cut by 20 percent and constitutes only 12 percent of the state budget for the year 1994 prepared by the Georgian cabinet of ministers.

'Unofficial' Talks With Ossetia End Successfully

LD0801133494 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1045 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Tbilisi, 8 Jan—An IBERIA correspondent learned that Georgian-Ossetian negotiations held at an unofficial level in the North Ossetian capital of Vladikavkaz were successful. Several more rounds have been planned, after which, with Russia's mediation, official negotiations will start.

Shevardnadze Edict Shortens Working Hours

LD0701163494 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0300 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] We will familiarize you with the edict of the head of state of the Republic of Georgia on the introduction of

a shortened working day for budgetary organizations and establishments during the winter time.

In view of the grave socioeconomic situation and the shortage of fuel, as of 1 January 1994 until 1 March 1994, the working day will be shortened by one hour for employees of budgetary organizations and establishments.

Heads of budgetary organizations and establishments have the right to shorten the working day by one more hour in lieu of a lunch break after it has been discussed with the local trade union bodies and the members of staff.

Two Wounded as Hungry Crowd Storms Greens Office

LD0801135094 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1045 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Tbilisi, 8 Jan—An IBERIA correspondent learned that during a distribution of a humanitarian aid in front of the office of the Georgian Greens party, in Mushtaidi Park in Tbilisi, a hungry, emaciated crowd of people stormed the office and plundered the humanitarian aid.

Two citizens suffered serious wounds and the owner of the humanitarian aid, (Kostas Papanastasiu) saved himself by running away.

Estonia

Government Crisis Over Cabinet Reshuffle

Party Official: Changes 'Essential'

WS0701154894 Tallinn BNS in English 1102 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Tartu, Estonia, Jan 07, BNS—The replacement of ministers in the Cabinet is absolutely normal and essential for improving the work of the ministries and the government as a whole, said Tonis Lukas, deputy chairman of the Pro Patria party.

Lukas, who heads the Tartu section of the senior party in the country's ruling coalition, said there were no reasons of ideological character behind the changes in the Cabinet.

He said the planned replacement of Toomas Sildmae, the minister of the economy, was necessary because of shortcomings in the ministry's work on drawing up legislation. He said it had been the ruling coalition's Pro Patria and National Independence Party parliament factions that were most dissatisfied with the ministry's work under Sildmae. Lukas added that the ruling parties had been at one with Sildmae over the economic policy.

Sildmae, who entered the political government from the country's young business elite, is receiving continuous support from the industrial and business circles, who say Sildmae's replacement as minister would negatively affect the economy.

Commenting on possible problems related to Sildmae's quitting the office, Lukas said he was still not quite sure that all the four ministers would be replaced.

Lukas said the appointment of Defense Minister Juri Luik to take over as the foreign minister was called by the need to gain better control over different departments in the Foreign Ministry and make the ministry work more effectively.

"As far as I know it was the wish of (Prime Minister) Laar, Luik, as well as President Meri that Luik be removed from the office of the defense minister," Lukas added.

He said that the issue of replacing Finance Minister Madis Uurike had "stood long on the agenda."

"When all ministers cope with their work and the government works well together, the government's popularity will rise," he said.

"I consider the government repair a practical step without any ideological background," Lukas mentioned. "It is high time for the people to get used to such steps," he added.

Meri Accused of Violating Legislation

LD0801183294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1820 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Estonian President Lennart Meri on Saturday approved some of the changes in the government proposed by Prime Minister Mart Laar.

Meri dismissed Maadis Uurike as finance minister and Trivimi Velliste as foreign minister, replacing the latter with Juri Luik, up till now defense minister.

Luik was born in Tallinn in 1966 and is a member of the Isamaa-Pro Patria Party, the largest in the present government coalition. A journalist by profession, he has been in the present government since December 1, 1992, having held the posts of minister without portfolio and defense minister. Luik also heads the Estonian delegation at current Estonian-Russian negotiations.

The post of defense minister has been given to Indrek Kannik, a member of parliament, born in Tallinn in 1961 and also a journalist by profession. Kannik is also a member of the Isamaa-Pro Patria Party.

However, the president turned down Laar's proposals to replace Toomas Sildmae with another member of parliament, Toivo Jurgenson, as economics minister and to appoint Heiki Kranich, also a member of parliament, finance minister.

For this reason, Government Press Secretary Ain Saarna has issued a statement accusing the president of violating the legislation. He said the head of state is authorized to appoint the prime minister alone but that the Constitution and the law on the government prohibit him from rejecting the government's proposals for the replacement of other ministers. The president's refusal to approve the appointment of some of the ministers means that "the renewal of the government will be postponed until the constitutional dispute is resolved by the chancellor of justice or, if necessary, by court," Saarna said.

He said the new ministers would not be sworn in and take office before the issue was resolved.

The press secretary quoted the prime minister as saying that the instability caused by the dispute might have negative consequences, especially with Estonia's present foreign-policy problems.

"The prime minister has reaffirmed that Estonia is a parliamentary, not a presidential republic," Saarna said.

Deputy: Meri Wants More Power

WS1001115194 Tallinn BNS in English 1829 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Tallinn, Jan 8, BNS—President Lennart Meri wants to have larger powers than what the Estonian Constitution provides grounds for, said Vello Saatpalu, the head of the parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission.

Saatpalu was commenting to BNS on the president's refusal to approve the nominations of the new ministers of finance and economics.

He called Meri's decision regrettable.

"Our country is on the route towards such a surrogate system of state government, where it will be soon no more clear if it is a parliamentary, presidential, or some third kind of a country," Saatpalu said.

He said the "customs" being introduced by the president had already long caused his bewilderment.

"Customs like this are at variance with the Estonian Constitution. I have pointed President Meri's attention to this already before. Several ambassadors of foreign countries have turned to me, because they find themselves unable to draw up the protocol for contacts with Estonia. They cannot understand what are the power limits of our president," he said.

He said Meri's way of acting with respect to the signing of agreements with other countries was "fully incomprehensible."

"Estonia belongs to the group of countries of the so-called Austrian line," he said. These are parliamentary countries, such as Germany, Austria, Iceland and Greece. The presidents of those countries never sign foreign agreements; this is being done by the prime ministers. President Meri, contrary to the spirit of our constitution, has signed agreements with France and Turkey," the head of the parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission said.

He said such conduct by the president might lead to problems with Russia in the future, when Estonia would have to sign an interstate treaty.

"What becomes if we told Russia that the treaty will be signed from the Estonian side by the prime minister? This would be absolutely impossible," Saatpalu said. He added that Germany's President Richard Weizsacker "would never do anything like this."

"Weizsacker would never sign any treaty, for instance, with Boris Yeltsin. But our president wants to do it himself," he said.

Saatpalu said the constitutional crisis in Estonia was expected not to affect the country's position, when the NATO Council meeting on Jan. 10-11 in Brussels starts discussing the issue of possible membership of the Baltics in the alliance.

He added that the crisis after all was Estonia's internal problem.

New Appointees Balk at Duties

LD0901163594 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1530 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] A dispute over a government reshuffle has driven Estonia into a government crisis. According to Estonian radio, the government still lacks four key ministers. President Lennart Meri today appointed Juri Luik as the new foreign minister and Indrek Kannik as the defense minister. However, these two people refuse to take up their posts unless the president also ratifies the other changes of ministers proposed by Prime Minister Mart Laar. President Meri is not, however, willing to dismiss the current economics minister and will not ratify the prime minister's candidate for a new finance minister either. Prime Minister Laar is prepared to take the dispute as far as the constitutional court.

Meri, Laar Disagree Over Reshuffle

WS1001095994 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1814 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] Tallinn, January 9—Estonian President Lennart Meri has rejected parts of government reshuffle proposed by Prime Minister Mart Laar leaving key cabinet positions vacant.

Meri signed a decree on Saturday [8 January] replacing Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste with Juri Luik who has thus far held defence minister's portfolio. Under the same decree, Meri awarded defence minister's job to Indrek Kannik. He also dismissed Finance Minister Madis Uurike, but turned down Laar's nominee for the position leaving the post vacant. Meri also rejected Laar's proposal to dismiss Economics Minister Toomas Sildmae.

"Under the constitution of the Republic of Estonia, changes in the government lie within prime minister's jurisdiction while the president has no right to form the cabinet," the government's press office said.

President's legal advisor Vahur Glase replied telling ETA that the government's statement had not been correct and that under paragraph 90 in the constitution, changes in the government were to be made by the president after a proposal by the premier. Premier's proposal is of advisory, not compulsory nature, Glase added.

Laar also said in his statement he was prepared to take the matter to the legal chancellor and the constitutional court while ministers who had been appointed by Meri would not take office.

Consequently, Estonia has no foreign, defence or finance minister.

"This is a crisis on how to interpret the constitution and legislation and by no means a government crisis," government's spokesman Ain Saarna told ETA.

Laar expressed his regret over the situation saying instability in Estonia's domestic policy was not acceptable in the present situation.

Four nominated ministers—Juri Luik, Toivo Jurgenson, Indrek Kannik and Heiki Kranich—met Meri in his presidential palace Sunday evening. After the meeting, the situation remained unchanged. Luik and Kannik refused to take up their new positions and Meri refused to accept the package and appoint all four ministers.

Jurgenson was Laar's choice for economics minister and Kranich was his nominee for finance minister's position.

The current government reshuffle contains danger of crisis, but is not crisis, Environment Minister Andres Tarand said in his commentary to ETA while adding the situation was not dramatic.

"At the moment, we have a replacement system which is being used during ministers' foreign trips," Tarand said.

Meri Makes Statement on Changes

WS1001115794 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0803 GMT 10 Jan 94

[From Office of the President official statement, 10 January POSTIMEES, p 1]

[Text] Monday, January 10—President Lennart Meri made a TV and radio statement Sunday [9 January] evening. The government reshuffle has run into difficulties, but there is no crisis, he stressed. The president described his actions as "usual in Germany, Austria or any other parliamentary state" and regretted that an internal crisis has broken out in Estonia.

President Meri announced that he had discussed a possible change of some ministers in September already, but the prime minister had not considered any changes necessary then. The local elections proved that the balance of power had changed and the prime minister did start preparations for a cabinet reshuffle. The president had recommended to postpone the changes until late February so as to consider the changing powers in Europe. The government failed to listen and the government restructuring regrettable coincided with major events in foreign politics.

The president further provided his interpretation of the constitution, explaining that while the prime minister presents the candidates, the president has the right to accept or reject them.

As for the background of the decision, the president stressed that the government's activities must be understood by the people and the Riigikogu [parliament]. However, the prime minister's assurances that Toomas Sildmae had lost the confidence of the government, was not borne out by statements of other cabinet members, President Meri stressed. Accepting all changes proposed by the prime minister would have been irresponsible, Meri declared in the statement. He further pointed out that the efficiency of the prime minister's decisions must be clear to the nation, the Riigikogu and the president. "When making any political decisions, we have to consider the state's interests first and subordinate them to any party interests," the presidential statement read.

The president concluded by appealing to the Riigikogu to contribute to the completion of the cabinet changes.

Tallinn Reports Progress of Russian Withdrawal

WS0701212794 Tallinn BNS in English 1919 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Tallinn, Jan 07, BNS—The main Russian combat unit still stationed in Estonia, the 144th armored infantry division, keeps on taking its equipment out of Estonia, officials at the Estonian Defense Ministry say.

According to information obtained by BNS, the division headquarters applied to Estonian authorities for 80 different transport permits in December. The division took a total of 96 vehicles and 1,800 tons of property out of the country on 16 railway trains last month.

The division hired 8 trains to take 57 vehicles and 2,800 tons of property out from Estonia in November.

As much as 254 vehicles and 5,300 tons of army property were taken out of Estonia by the same unit on 42 trains in July.

The division, stationed in bases in Tallinn, as well as at Keila and Klooga to the west of the capital, was still about 1,000-strong in December.

The division's tank regiment, stationed in Keila, until now comes for shooting exercise to Manniku on the outskirts of Tallinn. The division's ammunition depots at Klooga and Manniku contained about 3,500 tons of ammunition at the end of 1993.

Russian Union Urges Action Against 'Genocide Policy'

WS0701131694 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0744 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] The Union of Russian Citizens held a meeting in Narva yesterday, calling for action against the "genocide policy" of the Estonian Government. Spokesman of the Union Vladimir Yefimov invited the persons attending to use all means against the Estonian authorities, including civic disobedience. A letter will be sent to the UN and the CE [Council of Europe], he announced, adding that a major meeting in central Narva is intended for January.

The unemployed held a meeting in Jaanilinn (Ivangorod) yesterday, demanding that all inhabitants of Narva be dismissed from the enterprises in Jaanilinn and the jobs provided for the locals. Approximately 15 hundred of those present had been dismissed from the firms in Narva as a number of major enterprises cut jobs late last

year. Mayor of Jaanilinn Viktor Dmitriyev announced that the Russian laws would not allow such a move.

Reactor Dismantling Equipment Reaches Paldiski

LD0701213194 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1900 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] A regular consignment of the necessary means for dismantling nuclear reactors reached Paldiski today. According to information from the Estonian Foreign Ministry, this concerns the fourth goods wagon which arrived recently from Russia and which contains the necessary equipment for dismantling nuclear reactors. The load contains sprays for preventing the spread of nuclear substances during dismantling.

Representatives of the Russian naval forces confirmed today that the removal of nuclear fuel from Paldiski will begin on 4 April. They also confirmed that the Russian naval training center will cease its operations as a unit by 30 June.

Latvia

Cabinet: Meeting With NATO Officials 'Premature'

LD0801152194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Latvia's government refrained from a meeting with NATO officials planned to be held on January 7 to discuss the country's relations with the alliance.

As Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs has explained to INTERFAX, the cabinet found such a discussion "premature" before January 10, when NATO will open its summit.

Western leaders are to work out a common position toward the prospects of integration in the alliance of Central and East European states, the Baltic republics included.

As has been reported, President Algirdas Brazauskas of Lithuania formally applied to NATO for membership on Tuesday [4 January].

NATO Bid To Follow 31 Aug, Troop Withdrawal

WS0701174194 Tallinn BNS in English 1612 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Riga, Jan 07, BNS—Latvia will abstain from making an official application for the NATO membership until Aug. 31, the prospective deadline of the Russian troops' withdrawal, said Alexander Kirsteins, the head of the Saeima (parliament) Foreign Affairs Committee.

Latvia will, however, seek possibilities to sign bilateral military cooperation pacts with the alliance's member states, like the Jan. 3 accord with Denmark, Kirsteins said.

Kirsteins described as absurd a country's request for acceptance to the NATO while it is still occupied by a foreign army.

The Latvian government received an official invitation to join the NATO summit in Brussels next week, which is scheduled to consider the participation of the East European states to the Partnership for Peace program.

The Latvian army could act in the NATO framework regardless of its newness and poor ammunition, noted Kirsteins.

Latvia would have the chance right after the projected Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion receives budget funding, and Latvia and Russia reach a final accord on troops' withdrawal, said Kirsteins.

The Latvian army cannot expect the NATO to extend funds for the purchase of weapons unless the foreign troops are pulled out from its territory.

Kirsteins staunchly rejected any possibilities for Latvia to cooperate with Russia in the military sphere because Russia was presently "the sole military force threatening to the Latvian security."

As reported, the Latvian Foreign Ministry made a statement Jan. 5 urging the NATO to grant security guarantees to countries that expressed a wish to integrate into the organization.

Latvia puts a foreign political priority on political and military cooperation with the NATO and its separate member states to get accepted to the alliance in the future, the ministry said.

As reported, Lithuania officially asked for the NATO membership Jan. 4.

Andrejevs: NATO Only Guarantor of Peace for Baltics

LD0701225194 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Latvia's Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs told the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE news agency today that the United States had offered the Baltic states to replace the possibility of becoming NATO member states with the possibility for cooperation which, although does not give guarantees of security, however, taking into account the results of the elections in Russia, the Baltic states can expect from NATO more stable guarantees of security in the nearest future [sentence as received].

Only NATO can give the Baltic states guarantees of security. That is clear to all NATO member states.

According to Georgs Andrejevs, the joining of NATO by Latvia will be determined to a great extent by foreign policy of larger NATO member states in the nearest future. Latvia, similarly to Lithuania and Estonia, has expressed the wish to join NATO in the future, on the occasions of meetings of both prime ministers and presidents of the Baltic states on 15 December 1993. However, Latvia has not yet considered the possibility of passing a separate document on joining NATO, stated Georgs Andrejevs.

In a letter to NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, signed by the Lithuanian president, there is a request to send to Lithuania a commission of NATO experts who will determine whether Lithuania can be admitted to NATO. But according to Andrejevs, Lithuania is not ready for admission to NATO. Latvia, for its part, has to tackle the issue of the withdrawal of the Russian Army from Latvian territory before it invites a commission of NATO experts.

As Andrejevs admitted, cooperation within the framework of the Partnership for Peace program, as the United States has envisaged it, already means the conclusion of bilateral agreements with NATO, and depending on the readiness of each state this agreement also envisages the opportunity to become a fully-fledged NATO member state. Thus, NATO can itself offer to join this organization, if cooperation within the framework of the peace program is successful and a country meets NATO's conditions in the military sphere.

Pavlovskis: Partnership for Peace 'Not Concrete'

WS0701212494 Tallinn BNS in English 1919 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Riga, Jan 07, BNS—The U.S.-proposed program for the cooperation of the East European states with the NATO "is not as concrete and clearly cut as this document should be," Latvian Defense Minister Valdis Pavlovskis told BNS.

In the Pavlovskis words, the program should provide clearer conditions and terms for the entrance of the states, signatories to the program, into the NATO.

Danish Defense Minister Hans Haekkerup, who visited Riga earlier this week, already pledged Pavlovskis to do everything he could to amend the program, Pavlovskis said.

"My personal opinion is that Lithuania's application for the NATO membership was premature," Pavlovskis said. It prompted Russia to air its (negative) stance on the acceptance of the Central European countries to this organization with a pretext that the move could undermine the European security, the minister said.

Pavlovskis prognosticated that Western politicians would heed to Russia's anxiety in fear of the destabilization of the situation in Russia itself.

Subsequently, the Western leaders may refuse to amend the Partnership for Peace, said Pavlovskis. He also said he hoped his prognosis would not come true.

The East European security problems could be tackled much easier if "Europe guaranteed our security." Then, Eastern Europe could focus its efforts on the development of economy and democracy. Besides, the entrance to the NATO is very costly because the member states need good armament and equipment.

It would also be more advantageous for the NATO to grant the East European countries some security guarantees than to enroll new members. The motion would even benefit Russia by stabilizing the situation in its neighboring states.

CSCE Official Visits on Minority Issues

Gorbunovs: Proposals 'Constructive'

WS0701123694 Tallinn BNS in English 0708 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Riga, Jan 06, BNS - The CSCE high commissioner on ethnic minorities, Max van der Stoel, voiced new, constructive proposals for the resolution of the citizenship problem in Latvia, said parliament's speaker Anatolijs Gorbunovs. Van der Stoel is visiting Riga this week to discuss citizenship and ethnic minorities' problems with Latvian officials.

Under the proposals, Latvia should naturalize citizens' spouses and children, and ethnic Latvians who still lack citizenship in 1994 and 1995.

In 1996, citizenship should be offered to all permanent residents who speak Latvian and have lived here a certain number of years, recommended van der Stoel. The residence qualification could be 20, 30 or 40 years, he said.

This option, said van der Stoel, would not threaten the identity of the Latvian nation and would provide non-citizens with clearcut future prospects.

Van der Stoel criticized as too vague the naturalization mechanism in the ruling coalition's citizenship blueprint. The resident non-citizens may find it difficult to judge their prospects to ever get naturalized, the high commissioner said.

The Latvia's Way-Farmers' Union bill grants citizenship under a system of annual quotas. The government sets the quotas in compliance with the current economic and demographic situation to ensure the development of Latvia as a national state. The parliament passed the first reading of the bill Nov. 25.

Gorbunovs pointed to one major shortcoming in van der Stoel's proposal. The bulk of non-citizens came to Latvia by 1977 what may lead to mass-scale naturalization if the country introduces a 20-year residence threshold, for example, in 1996.

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